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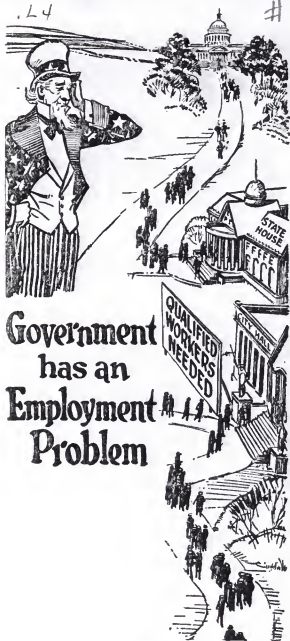
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#1



Government has an Employment Problem

Issued by the

National League of Women Voters

532 Seventeenth Street, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

March, 1923

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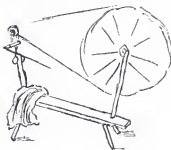
FROM
GRANDMOTHER
TO YOU AND ME

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AN INTRODUCTION
TO THE STUDY OF
THE 8-HOUR DAY

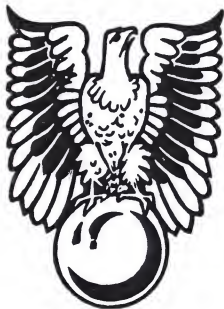


WOMEN IN
INDUSTRY
COMMITTEE

OF THE
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF
WOMEN VOTERS
532 Seventeenth St. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

1, '23, 1M

Made in America



The Child Labor Amendment

"SECTION 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

"SECTION 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

Give Congress the Power to Set
Child Laborers Free



How to Get Out the Vote

By Elizabeth J. Hauser

THERE is no black magic, or white, for getting out the vote.

Campaigns which involve candidates possessed of striking personalities or issues which seem vital, bring out a larger vote than elections in which there are no clearly defined issues, no candidates who appeal to the popular imagination. Political meetings, newspaper advertising, billboard publicity, parades, barbecues—all these familiar devices of political contests—have not availed to bring out even half the eligible vote in national elections and likewise have failed in state elections. Local elections, which rouse religious or race prejudice bring out large numbers, but no truly worthy citizen would encourage such issues for the sake of an increased vote.

I visit**and report**

The way to get out the vote is to do it by ward, precinct and block. Let us begin with the block worker and use the personal pronoun singular. I am assigned to my block. I call at every house to ascertain how many eligible voters live in my territory. In a book I carefully list the names and addresses of all such voters. I suggest tactfully to everyone interviewed, the importance of voting in the coming election. I do not make my canvass too far in advance, because people are so apt to forget. One visit to each residence will not be sufficient; in some instances I may have to go several times. While the list of voters in a given household can be supplied by one member of it, the more individual voters I can talk with the better. If I am a political party worker, my mission is to enroll only the voters of the party I represent. If I am a League of Women Voters canvasser, I do not inquire about party affiliations but enroll all voters, regardless of party, and try to secure from each a promise to vote. When my canvass is finished I report to my precinct captain.

Now I am the precinct captain. Having received the report from each block worker, I record all names alphabetically in a book and transfer to cards (also arranged alphabetically) the names and addresses of all voters, one card for each individual. I then report to my ward chairman that my precinct canvass is completed.

Now I am the ward chairman and, in common with other ward chairmen, I report to my committeeman.

Now I am the committeeman. I check all the reports from all the wards. I keep in touch with all of my ward chairmen and see that they maintain communication with the pre-

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Department of Efficiency in Government

Outline for Study

Presented at the Fourth Annual Convention, April, 1923

The Essentials of a Budget

BY EDITH ROCKWOOD

"The budget . . . is a complete financial plan for a definite period which is based upon careful estimates both of the expenditure needs and of the probable income of the government."—A. E. Buck.

The "budget system" is a year-long process including careful analysis of work done, of revenue and of expenditures, as a basis for plans for the coming year, the presentation of the complete program of work, income and expenditure, its consideration by the legislative body, its enactment into ordinance or law as appropriations and tax levy measures, and, finally, the continuous check to see that plans and expenditures, as approved, are carried out.

The budget system offers the citizen a chance to see and participate in the whole process of government. To accomplish this, it is necessary that budget facts be presented dramatically and intelligibly, in simple terms and with illuminating summaries.

The following questions are suggested to enable women to acquaint themselves with the actual process whereby the budget of a particular city, county, or state is proposed, considered, passed upon, and administered.

1. Who prepares the budget for the consideration of the law making body?
2. Does the budget cover all the departments of government?
3. Does it include: estimates of all probable revenue?
all anticipated expenditures?
a comparison of anticipated expenditures with those of the previous year?
records of work accomplished and the program of work for the coming year?
4. What body considers the budget?

Why a Federal Child Labor Law Can Be Secured Only Through a Constitutional Amendment

The Congress of the United States has passed two laws for the regulation of child labor, each of which has been declared unconstitutional.

No express grant in the Constitution gives Congress control over child labor. The Federal Child Labor Act of 1916 was based upon the power of Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce and passed in the belief that Congress had the same right to forbid the channels of interstate commerce to child-made goods as to forbid them to adulterated foods under the Pure Food and Drugs Act.¹ It prohibited the interstate shipment of the products of factories, mines, and quarries in which children were employed contrary to certain specified standards.²

The power of Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce had been in a number of cases liberally interpreted by the Supreme Court and that Court had upheld the validity of laws—as, for instance, the Pure Food and Drugs Act and the White Slave Traffic Act³ which in effect had the quality of a police regulation. But when the constitutionality of the Federal Child Labor Act of 1916 was tested, the Supreme Court held, by a five to four decision, that it was not a lawful exercise of the authority of Congress.⁴

Congress next sought to regulate child labor through the taxing power and on February 24, 1919, enacted a Child Labor Tax Act, which imposed a prohibitive tax (10 per cent) upon the annual net profits of establishments violating the standards set up by the law, which were the same as those under the previous Federal Child Labor Law. Congress had in the past relied upon this power to enact laws practically prohibitive or regulatory in their effects; for example, it had taxed state bank notes out of existence, placed a prohibitive tax on the manufacture and sale of oleomargarine artificially colored to look like butter, and imposed a tax which in effect regulated the sale and use of narcotic drugs.⁵ In each instance the Supreme Court had held that Congress was acting within the limits of its constitutional authority. But when the Child Labor Tax Act came before it, the Court held, this time by an eight to one decision, that Congress had exceeded its constitutional powers.⁶

¹ See *Hypolite Egg Company v. U. S.*, 220 U. S. 45.

² These were, for manufacturing establishments, mills, factories, canneries, or work shops, that no child under 14 should be employed and no child between 14 and 16 should be employed more than 8 hours per day, or 6 days per week, or at night; and for mines and quarries, that no child under 16 should be employed.

³ See *Hoke v. U. S.* 227 U. S. 308.

⁴ *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U. S. 251, decided June 3, 1918.

⁵ See the following cases: *Veazie Bank v. Fenno*, 8 Wall. 533; *McCray v. U. S.*, 195 U. S. 27; *U. S. v. Doremus* 249 U. S. 86.

⁶ *Bailey v. Drexel Furniture Co.*, 259 U. S. 20, decided May 15, 1922.

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT
Fact Sheet No. II.

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#7

What Effect Will the Child Labor Amendment
Have on the Bill of Rights?

The Child Labor Amendment will have no effect whatever upon the privileges guaranteed to the people by the first ten amendments. Certain opponents of the measure are urging that a power of prohibition and regulation is conferred, and that there are no limits upon that prohibition or regulation. But it is well settled by legal decisions that a constitution, with its amendments, must be read as a whole, and as one law, and effect must be given to each part of it, each clause explained and qualified by every other clause.¹ The Supreme Court of the United States, in discussing the effect of an amendment upon previously existing Constitutional provisions, held that "the Constitution of the United States, with the several amendments thereof, must be regarded as one instrument, all of whose provisions are to be deemed of equal validity."²

The Fifth Amendment provides that the Federal government shall not deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, and this restriction would apply to the powers granted Congress by the Twentieth Amendment with as much force as to the grants contained in the original Constitution. On this point Dean Roscoe Pound, of Harvard Law School, says: "Any unreasonable means of regulation, and anything arbitrary or unreasonable in the carrying out of the prohibition, would be subject to the limitation that applies to all Congressional exercise of powers given by the Constitution."

¹ Gilbert El. R. Co. v. Kobbe, 70 N. Y. 361.

² Prout v. Starr, 188 U. S. 543.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 Seventeenth Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.



November, 1924

How the First Federal Child Labor Law Was Administered

The experience of the Federal government in the administration of the first Federal Child Labor Act indicates a method by which any Federal provision for the protection of working children might be effectively and economically enforced.

After the passage of the Federal Child Labor Act of 1916 a child-labor division was created in the U. S. Children's Bureau to enforce the law. Plans for enforcement were laid on the theory that the full benefit of the law could be realized only through a genuine working relationship between Federal and State officials. In this way, it was believed, needless Federal machinery could be avoided and whatever Federal machinery was established could be used to strengthen respect for the State as well as for the Federal law.

In order to work out a satisfactory basis of cooperation, the Children's Bureau called a conference of State officials before the Federal Act went into effect. At this conference, which was attended by 28 State commissioners of labor and chief factory inspectors, the whole question of cooperation between Federal and State officials in the enforcement of the Act was thoroughly discussed. The State officials present at the conference requested formal recognition by the Federal government in the enforcement of the Federal law, and in accordance with this request, all State officers charged with the enforcement of a State child labor law were commissioned inspectors under the Federal law. Thus the possibility of two sets of inspectors each duplicating the work of the other was eliminated, and the machinery for enforcement that each State had developed and the knowledge that it had of local conditions were fully utilized. In commissioning these State officials, however, attention was called to the fact that the Children's Bureau would make inspections in any State, either upon its own initiative, upon complaints of violations, or upon the request of State officials.

One of the inspectors on the staff of the Children's Bureau had the special duty of cooperating with State officials, and joint inspections with State inspectors were tried in a number of localities. These were useful in acquainting Federal and State inspectors with the methods followed by each and in impressing parents and employers with the fact that Federal and State officials were working together. Under the conviction that a regular exchange of information was probably what each needed from the other, arrangements were made by the Children's Bureau to send to the child labor inspection departments of the States a summary of the findings of the Children's Bureau inspectors in their own jurisdiction, as well as all rulings and other information with reference to the act which might be published by the bureau from time to time.

The help given by the State officials in the enforcement of the Federal Act was substantial. It began in some States before the law went into effect with an educational campaign to acquaint employers and parents with the provisions of the Act. In a number of States in which children between 14 and 16 years of age were allowed, under State law, to work more than 8 hours

(over)

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT
Fact Sheet No. IV.

The "Eighteen Years" Clause in the Proposed Child Labor Amendment

The following Senators and Representatives introduced resolutions proposing a child labor amendment to the Constitution, without request or suggestion from any of the organizations supporting an amendment, and fixed the age limit at 18 years or higher:

Mr. Rogers (Mass.).....	21 years	Senator Shortridge (Calif.).....	18 years
Mr. Fitzgerald (Ohio).....	18 "	Senator Wheeler (Mont.).....	18 "
Senator Johnson (Calif.).....	18 "	Senator Lodge (Mass.).....	18 "
Mr. Perlman (N.Y.C.).....	18 "	Mr. Johnson (Wash.).....	18 "
Mr. Nolan (Calif.).....	18 "	Mr. Hayden (Ariz.).....	18 "
Mr. Tague (Mass.).....	18 "	Mr. Raker (Calif.).....	18 "
Mr. Voight (Wis.).....	18 "	Mr. Cooper (Wis.).....	18 "
Mr. Moore (Ohio).....	18 "	Mr. Green (Mass.).....	18 "
Mr. Thompson (Ohio).....	18 "	Mr. Lineberger (Calif.).....	18 "
Senator Townsend (Mich.).....	18 "	Mr. Lozier (Mo.).....	18 "
Mr. Frothingham (Mass.).....	18 "	Mr. Taylor (Colo.).....	18 "
Mr. Connery (Mass.).....		18 years	

Mr. Dallinger of Massachusetts introduced a joint resolution which reads as follows:

"The Congress shall have power to establish uniform hours and conditions of labor for women and minors throughout the United States, and to prohibit the employment of children *under such ages as Congress may from time to time determine.*"

In framing the proposed Constitutional amendment, there was much discussion by the proponents as to the language to be used in defining the extent of the authority of Congress. A number of advocates of the measure wished to use the word "child," feeling that this was a term general in scope which would allow Congress discretion to define it in whatever way might suit the future developing needs. But it was feared that since the amendment itself was to be the only source of the Federal power, the Supreme Court, in interpreting laws enacted under that power, would confine its terms to their generally accepted legal definitions rather than allow Congress itself to define them. A study of the definitions of the word "child" as given in the various decisions of State courts of last resort indicated that the word, when occurring in a statute without definition was so variously interpreted as to make very uncertain just what power Congress actually possessed.

No legal precedents were available in regard to the interpretation of child-labor laws, since they nearly always state definitely the ages at which the regulation is to take effect, but in dealing with other statutes, for example those concerning assault,¹ sex offenses,² and employer's liability for injury of employee,³ the courts have applied the common law definition of the

¹ McGregor v. State (4 Tex. Cr. Rep. 599).

² Blackburn v. State (22 Ohio St. 102).

³ London Guarantee and Accident Company (Ltd.) v. Morris, (156 Ill. App. 533).

THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT
Fact Sheet No. VI.

Why the Word Labor Instead of Employment
is Used in the Proposed Child
Labor Amendment

The word "labor" instead of "employment" was selected in framing the text of the Child Labor Amendment in order to avoid, for any future Federal law, the difficulties of enforcement encountered in the case of State laws prohibiting or regulating only the "employment" of children. In States having such laws, it was found that children under the legal age were allowed to come into the factories and work as "helpers" to some older person—often, but not always, a member of the family—who received the payment for the child's services. Since the names of these children did not appear on the payroll, the employer claimed that he did not "employ" them, in spite of the fact that they worked for the same hours and were relied upon to do their share of the work the same as other employees. This evasion of the law was successful, because only the "employment" of the child was prohibited, and this term, both as generally understood and as interpreted by court decisions, implies a "contract" on the part of the employer to hire and on the part of the employee to perform services.¹ When used in respect to a "servant or hired laborer," it is "equivalent to hiring, which implies a request, and a contract for compensation."²

Most States have prevented such violations of the intent of the statute either by using the word "labor" or by saying that no child shall be "permitted" or "suffered" to work in violation of the law. In case where a child under the legal age was injured while working, under the direction of a foreman, at an occupation different from the one for which he was originally hired, the court said:

"If the statute went no further than to prohibit employment, then it could be easily evaded by the claim that the child was not employed to do the work which caused the injury, * * * and if it prohibited only the employment and permitted a child to do such things, then it might still be evaded by the claim that he was not employed to do such work nor was permission given him to do so. But the statute goes farther * * *. It says that he shall neither be employed, permitted or suffered to engage in certain work * * *. Hence, by giving the language of the statute the ordinary meaning and significance which it bears in common usage it is clear that additional restraints to that of mere employment are placed upon the employer. It means that he shall not employ by contract, nor shall he permit by acquiescence, nor suffer by a failure to hinder * * *."³

¹ Malloy v. Bd. of Education, 36 Pac. 984, 102 Cal. 642; U. S. v. Nourse, 27 Fed. Cases 192,195.

² McCluskey v. Cromwell, 11 N. Y. 593.

³ Curtis and Gartside Co. v. Pigg, 134 Pac. 1125.

Cooperative Societies

A Way Out For Consumers

A Brief Review

by

MRS. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN



Committee on Living Costs
National League of Women Voters
532 Seventeenth Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.
1924



#12

Women and the International Labor Movement

X- JK 1881

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—BY—

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

Professor of Economics, Goucher College
Chairman, Women in Industry Committee,
National League of Women Voters

Including

Study Leaflet Series, No. 4

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY COMMITTEE
OF THE
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 Seventeenth Street, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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#13

X- JK 1881

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Truths and Half-Truths About Child Labor

"Men and Women" of 14 Years

The Numbers of 14 and 15 Year-Old
Workers

The Jobs of the 14 and 15 Year-Olds

Under What Conditions Are These 14
and 15 Year-Old Children Working?

Why Do 14 and 15 Year-Olds Need
Protection?

Distributed by the
Child Welfare Committee
National League of Women Voters

532 Seventeenth Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

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THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT
Fact Sheet No. VII.

Child Labor Laws and School Attendance

The influence of good child labor laws in keeping children in school is indicated by a comparison of census figures on school attendance with the child labor laws of the various states.

In the important industrial State of Ohio where there was in 1920, when the last Census was taken, a 16 year minimum for girls and a 15 year minimum for boys for any employment during school hours, all seven cities of 100,000 or more population had notably large percentages of the children 14 and 15 years of age in school.

Akron.....	90.3	Dayton.....	89.3
Cincinnati.....	90.2	Columbus.....	88.9
Youngstown.....	89.4	Cleveland.....	88.8
Toledo.....	83.9		

Since 1920, the minimum age for employment during school hours has been raised in Ohio to 16 years for boys as well as girls.

In Massachusetts there was in 1920 and is now a 14 year minimum for employment and a sixth grade requirement. As in Ohio, there were seven cities with a population of 100,000 or more. Not one of these Massachusetts cities had as high a percentage of its 14 and 15 year old children in school as the city in Ohio with the lowest percentage. The percentage of children 14 and 15 years old attending school in these seven cities in 1920 was as follows:

Boston.....	83.4	Worcester.....	74.3
Cambridge.....	80.3	Lowell.....	73.0
Springfield.....	77.8	New Bedford.....	48.4
Fall River.....	45.4		

Youngstown, Ohio, had a higher percentage of its 14 and 15 year old children in school than Boston or Cambridge, and proportionately about twice as many as Fall River. As between the Ohio and the Massachusetts cities, the much higher child labor laws are probably the principal factor in the greater opportunities which are coming to the Ohio children.

Seven of the cities of the United States having 100,000 population or more had less than 70 per cent of their 14 and 15 year old children in school—Fall River, 45.4; New Bedford, 48.4; Paterson, 63; Providence, 65; Trenton, 66; Baltimore, 68.8; Jersey City, 69.9. Of the four states in which these cities are located, none had a minimum age requirement above 14 years, and Massachusetts required completion only of the 6th grade, New Jersey and Maryland only of the 5th, and Rhode Island had no grade requirement for a work permit. At the other extreme are nine cities with more than 90 per cent of their 14 and 15 year old children in school:

Salt Lake City.....	92.6	Portland.....	91.1
Spokane.....	92.3	Minneapolis.....	90.6
Des Moines.....	91.8	Los Angeles.....	90.4
Oakland.....	91.6	Akron.....	90.3
Cincinnati.....	90.2		

(over)

Industrial Accidents to Working Minors

Industrial accidents to working minors have been decreased in states where the labor of children in dangerous occupations is either entirely prohibited or strictly regulated, according to a survey of conditions in three states made by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and New Jersey were the states included in the study. The smallest number of accidents and the lowest accident rate occurred in the case of children under sixteen. Each of the states studied had attempted to protect children under this age by prohibiting them from employment in certain occupations, chiefly in the operation of the more dangerous machinery, which is the source of greatest accident hazard to the young worker.

Children of sixteen and seventeen were prohibited from some employments in Massachusetts and Wisconsin but in all three states were permitted to operate many of the dangerous machines.

This difference in legal protection was reflected in the accident figures. Power-working machinery caused a larger percentage of the accidents to the sixteen and seventeen year olds than to children under sixteen—protected by law, or to young workers between eighteen and twenty-one, better able to protect themselves.

Accidents were also more serious to the sixteen and seventeen year group than to either the younger or older workers. Of the injuries to workers under sixteen, 10.7 per cent resulted in death or partial disablement for life. For those sixteen and seventeen years old who were injured, the rate was 13.4 per cent killed or permanently disabled; for the group eighteen to twenty-one years old, the rate was 12.7 per cent.

The cases studied were secured from the files of State Industrial Commissions and Accident Boards and were only those in which compensations had been paid: that is, in Wisconsin, accidents causing disability of more than 7 days duration; in Massachusetts and New Jersey, accidents causing disability of more than 10 days duration.

In all, 7478 industrial accidents to young workers under 21 years of age occurred in one year in the three states. Thirty-eight of these accidents resulted in death and 920 in partial disablement for life.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 Seventeenth Street N. W.
Washington, D. C.



January, 1925

Ratification of Constitutional Amendments

According to the terms of the Federal Constitution, amendments proposed by the Congress are valid to all intents and purposes as parts of that instrument when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states.

A concise statement of the commonly accepted views of constitutional lawyers on the ratification of amendments to the Federal Constitution is presented in the standard legal publication known as *Corpus Juris*, Vol. 2, pp. 681-2, under the title "Constitutional Law." The article, which, like others treated in *Corpus Juris*, attempts to present the law as developed in all reported decisions, was prepared by A. H. Throckmorton, Professor of Law in Western Reserve University.

The following are relevant extracts, with footnotes:

Ratification.—Whether proposed by Congress or by a convention, an amendment does not become a part of the Constitution unless it is ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress.¹⁷ * * * Ratification of a proposed amendment, when once acceded to by a state legislature, would seem to exhaust its authority to act and preclude a reconsideration;¹⁸ but on the other hand, a vote of rejection on the part of a state is no bar to a subsequent reconsideration and adoption of the amendment.¹⁹

By the Act of April 20th, 1818, Chapter 80, 3, statutes at large 439, (9, Federal Statutes Annotated, section 205; page 376) it is provided that the Secretary of State shall publish forthwith "in newspapers authorized to promulgate the law" any amendment to the Constitution, "whenever official notice is received by the Department of State" that such amendment has been adopted. The Secretary of State is requested to specify the states by which the Amendment may have been adopted and that the same has become valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution of the United States.

There is no provision for the Secretary of State to declare an amendment rejected.

¹⁷ U. S. Art 5.

¹⁸ Jameson Const. Conv. (4th ed) SS 582-584.

(a) Withdrawal of ratification.—The states of New Jersey and Ohio first adopted and then rejected the Fourteenth Amendment. In each case the latter action was disregarded * * * 15 U. S. St. at L. 706. Not counting these, however, the Amendment was ratified by more than three-fourths of the states, although it had not been when Secretary Seward issued his proclamation. See an interesting discussion of this point, containing table by Prof. J. B. Moore, showing dates of ratification, in 30 Am. L. Rev. 894. So the Legislature of New York, after having voted to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment, afterwards sought by resolution to withdraw its ratification. 16 U. S. St. at L. 1131.

¹⁹ Jameson Const. Conv. (4th ed) SS 576, 581.

(a) Illustrations.—The Legislature of the State of New Jersey first rejected the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, and then adopted it the following year. And so the Fourteenth Amendment was rejected by the legislatures of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, when first presented, but subsequently it was ratified by the reorganized governments of those states, and in each instance the ratification was treated as authoritative. 14 U. S. St. at L. 428; 15 U. S. St. at L. 706, 708.

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National League of Women Voters

Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War

#17

Adopted Program 1925-1926

Recommendations:

For Study

1. World Cooperation:
World Court.
League of Nations
Protocol of League of Nations of 1924 (Disarmament and Security).
Reparations and Interallied Debts (Dawes Plan).
Conclusions of the Conference on the Cause and Cure of War.*
2. Review of American Foreign Policy, past and present:
National Defense Act.
Monroe Doctrine.
Philippine problems.
3. International Intercourse and Treaty-Making Machinery:
State Department methods (open diplomacy).
Constitutional Amendment in relation to the Senate ratification of treaties.

Federal

For Legislation

1. Entry into the Permanent Court of International Justice and support of measures promoting its effectiveness.
2. Support of resolutions permitting the United States to take part in international disarmament, economic and humanitarian conferences and commissions whether called by the League of Nations, by individual nations, or initiated by the United States itself.
3. Support of measures to secure prompt publication of State Department reports.
4. Support of policies designed to effect international reduction of armaments.
5. Support of measures providing for the codification of international law; also measures designed for the outlawry of war and its abolition as a legalized institution.
6. Support in general of constructive efforts for peace by world cooperation and world federation.

*The recommendations of the Conference relating to "Ways of Education" were approved with amendments by the department; also the recommendation calling for immediate action in behalf of the World Court and further participation in international disarmament conferences. This action of the Department was sustained by the convention.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War
1010 Grand Central Terminal Building
New York City, New York

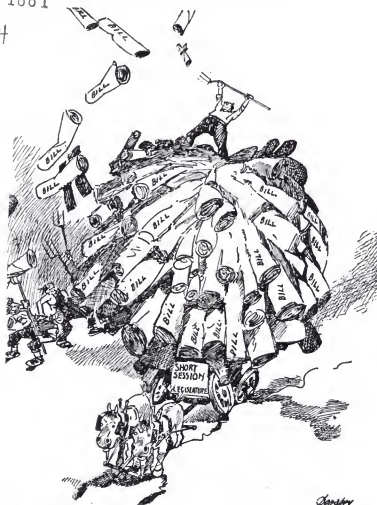
#18

FEDERAL AND STATE LAW-MAKING BODIES

By HELEN M. ROCCA

X- JK 1881

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Cleveland Plain Dealer

JUST A WEE BIT TOP HEAVY!

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March, 1925

The League of Nations

PART I.—ORGANIZATION

1. *What is the object of the League of Nations?*

The object is to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security.

2. *What states are members? What are not?*

Members: Abyssinia, Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, British Empire, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Esthonia, Finland, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Hungary, India, Irish Free State, Italy, Japan, Latvia, Liberia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Persia, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Salvador, Serb-Croat-Slovene State, Siam, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, Venezuela.

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#120

Current Questions on the Disarmament Conference

1. *Why are disarmament and security invariably linked in any discussion of either topic?*

It is difficult, if not impossible, to disarm where there is a feeling of national insecurity. On the other hand, the reduction of armaments by international cooperation is an important factor in promoting a feeling of security against war in general.

2. *In the past has extensive preparedness for war proved a guarantee of national security?*

In the case of powerful nations it has seemed to be a safeguard in the minds of the governments and of the peoples of the countries concerned. In the case of smaller nations security has obviously not been so obtained. In 1914 Belgium was armed to the limit of her financial and man power but her defenses lasted less than a week.

X JK 1881

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#21

The Monroe Doctrine

1. *What is the Monroe Doctrine?*

President Monroe's message to Congress December 2, 1823, known as the Monroe Doctrine, reads in part as follows: "It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent, without endangering our peace and happiness. . . . The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

2. *What is the popular understanding in this country of what the Monroe Doctrine has meant until today?*

The Monroe Doctrine has been interpreted in this country as embodying the principal of independence

FACTS ABOUT THE CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT
Sheet No. XI

State Child Labor Laws

Child labor is the work of children under conditions that interfere with the physical development, education, and opportunities for recreation which children require—it is the working of children at unfit ages, for unreasonable hours, or under unhealthful conditions. The purpose of child labor laws is to prevent that kind of exploitation of childhood. To accomplish this end they must fix some age below which no child may go to work; they must make this age high enough so as to give every child an opportunity for at least a minimum of physical development and educational training; they must set physical and educational standards to which a child must come up before he can enter upon industrial life; and they must provide standards for the kind of work he is to do.

It is generally agreed that a reasonably adequate child labor law should provide a minimum age of at least 14 years for work, in any occupation except in farm work and private domestic service. While it is true that most of our states have a 14 year standard, there are many cases where omissions and loopholes in the law seriously weaken the protection it affords the children. A few instances show this. In Delaware and Virginia, 12 year old children may work in canneries; in some states (Mississippi and Georgia, for instance), children of any age may work in stores and in almost any other kind of work except factory work; in others (as in Nevada) there is no minimum age for work in any occupation outside school hours.

As regards the educational and the physical equipment to be required for the young worker, it is generally felt that he should have at least a common school education before he goes to work, and that he should be examined by a physician and found physically fit for work. Yet only 13 states have an 8th grade requirement and only 23 states require every child subject to the law to have a physician's certificate of physical fitness.

After the child is allowed to enter industry, the law must still protect him during the first few years of his working life. In the first place, his work should be limited to the "safe areas of industry"—he must not be allowed in occupations where he will be subjected to risk of disabling or fatal accident or where his health may be injured. Though many states prohibit some dangerous occupations for children under 16 or even under 18, accident reports show that the existing protection along this line is inadequate.* And 29 states have few or no prohibitions applicable to the work of minors 16 and 17 years of age—who are still young enough to need these special safeguards—in physically hazardous occupations.

In addition, the child should not be allowed to work for too long hours or at night. Although the maximum 8-hour day is now being demanded even for adult labor, only about three-fourths of the states have fixed this standard for children under 16 and many even of these states limit the application of the laws or have undesirable exemptions. In about a fourth of the

(over)

X- JK 1881

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24

A
Review
of
Arbitration

*With Special Reference to the
Western Hemisphere*

BY
MILDRED ADAMS

Published by
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
Committee on International Cooperation to Prevent War
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#25

Know Your Town

TEN SETS

of

TWENTY QUESTIONS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.



, L4

Arbitration

#126

1. *What are the forms of pacific settlement of disputes?*

- (a) International court procedure,
- (b) Arbitration (in the technical sense), (c) Conciliation by inquiry,
- (d) Mediation, (e) Good offices.

2. *What is meant by arbitration?*

International arbitration is defined in two ways. In the broader sense it is the system providing for the pacific settlement of international disputes. In the more limited sense arbitration is the settlement of disputes between states by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law.

3. *What is conciliation?*

Conciliation is the means whereby the solution of a difficulty is sought through an impartial and conscientious investigation. The opinion rendered is not of binding force.

HISTORY IN THE UNITED STATES

The vote, open and public, facilitating bribery, fraud and intimidation.

The Australian Ballot—1838—eliminating the evils of private printing and public voting.

The Massachusetts or Office Group Type: Several forms in each of which the voter must indicate every candidate for whom he votes.

The Indiana or Party Column Type: Grouping the candidates in party columns and permitting the voter to vote a straight ticket.

The Preferential Ballot: Permitting the voter to indicate not only his first choice, but the second, third, etc., in order that the majority may be more nearly represented.

PERSISTENT EVILS

Blind voting due to:

Simultaneous Federal, State, and local elections, multiplying the number of candidates to be voted upon at the same time.

Multiplicity of petty officers to be voted for who escape notice because of their insignificance.

The administrative character of many of the officers which makes discussion of the merits of the candidates dull and uninteresting if not entirely impossible.

Control by politicians made possible because of blind voting.

Lack of administrative responsibility because each elected officer is responsible to the electors alone.

Misrepresentation, because voters do not know the qualifications of many candidates for whom they vote.

THE SHORT BALLOT

The Federal Government is our best example of the short ballot principle.

Only the Presidential Electors and Members of Congress are elective. All other officers are appointive.

Many cities have adopted the short ballot principle also by providing for an elective mayor and a council only, or occasionally for just a council. Thus in some cities a voter is called upon to vote only for a mayor and a single councilman.

44 The Presidential Primary and Its Possibilities

BY LOUISE OVERACKER

#28

History

The term "presidential primary" includes all laws designed to give the rank and file of the party control over the party nomination for president.

In 1905 Wisconsin, after an unfortunate experience with the old convention method of choosing delegates, provided for the direct election of her delegates to the national conventions and by 1912, twelve states had provided for the election of delegates, the taking of a preference vote after the Oregon plan, or for both.

Twenty-four states have enacted compulsory presidential primary laws. Two of these¹ have been declared unconstitutional and five² have been repealed, leaving seventeen³ still in operation. In addition, two states⁴ have optional primary laws.

The Presidential Primary in Practice

The effectiveness of existing laws has been limited by:

1. The limitation of the presidential primary to less than half the states, leaving the balance of the power in the conventions with the unpledged delegates.
2. The lack of uniformity, especially with regard to the date of the primaries. This makes it impossible to get a nation-wide expression of opinion on a single big issue.
3. Technical defects, particularly with reference to the method of controlling the delegates in the conventions and the arrangement of the ballot. Experience shows that effective control of delegates is secured only when the personal preferences of the delegates and the popular preference coincide. This is secured by the selection of delegates whose preferences for president are printed on the ballot after their names, either with or without a preference vote for president. The combination of a preference vote for president and the election of delegates will prove confusing unless the ballot is so arranged as to show clearly the relationship between the candidates for the presidential nomination and the delegates favoring them.
4. The immunity of the national convention from the control of state laws, making it possible for the convention to nullify the laws of the states.

The presidential primaries have never dictated the nomination but they have had their effect upon the course of political events. Within the states, the presidential primary has eliminated the disgrace of the contesting delegation, has provided an orderly way of settling contests for state leadership and control, and has often brought to the surface fundamental differences of opinion within the party.

Popular interest in the presidential primary compares favorably with popular interest in the state primaries, about 80% of the people who vote in the state primaries participating in the presidential primary.

¹ Texas, Alabama.

² Iowa (1917), Minnesota (1917), Vermont (1921), Montana (1924 by referendum), North Carolina (1927).

³ California, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

⁴ Florida, Georgia.

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#29

A Program for Unemployment

By

MOLLIE RAY CARROLL

Professor of Economics, Goucher College

Including

Study Leaflet Series, No.6

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#30

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#31

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Questions for Study and Discussion

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#32

The League Today

Address of the President

Miss Belle Sherwin

At the Meeting of the General Council of the
National League of Women Voters
Washington, April 27, 1927

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Foreign Policy of the
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SEPTEMBER 1928

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History, Principles, and Policy
X- JK 1881 . L 4 of the
National League of Women Voters

#34

History and Origin

When the complete enfranchisement of the women of the United States became imminent, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt conceived the idea of a continuing organization of women devoted to the political education of newly-made women voters. At the fiftieth convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, held at St. Louis in February, 1919, a league of women voters was organized as an auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Those eligible to membership were the women of the twenty-six states in which women were then permitted to vote in presidential elections. In February, 1920, in connection with the fifty-first and final convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Chicago, the first national congress of the league of women voters was held and the organization was made permanent. A board of directors was elected which subsequently chose as chairman, Mrs. Maud Wood Park.

In August of that year, the thirty-sixth state ratified the nineteenth amendment and on August 26, 1920, the Secretary of State proclaimed the amendment part of the Constitution of the United States. The League was then free to become truly national in scope and in April, 1921, assembled at Cleveland for its second convention, where the By-Laws were so amended as to create the offices of president and two vice-presidents, and to make these offices elective by the delegates. Seven regional directors, as provided the previous year, were retained. In 1922 the office of third vice-president was added. In 1926 the number of vice-presidents was increased to five and that year the convention voted to hold conventions biennially instead of annually as heretofore. The regional directors are elected biennially by the delegates from their respective regions, and like the general officers for terms of two years each.

Besides the affiliated state Leagues (of which there may be not more than one from each state) the League is organized also in the District of Columbia and Hawaii.

The 1922 convention was held in April at Baltimore, and in conjunction with it a Pan-American

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#135

The Presidential Election

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THE "LAME DUCK" AMENDMENT

H36

A Constitutional Amendment Which Would Shorten the Period Between the Election and the Commencement of the Terms of the President, the Vice-President, and the Members of the Congress.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the Congress must have an annual session and that they shall meet the first Monday in December "unless they shall by law appoint a different day." The terms of all elected officers in the federal government begin and expire on the fourth of March. There are normally two regular sessions of each Congress—the long session beginning in December of the odd-numbered years and extending until some time during the next summer, and the short session which extends from the next December to the fourth of March following. Members of the Congress are therefore elected four months before they can possibly take their seats and thirteen months before the opening of the first regular session of the Congress to which they have been elected.

The long interval between the election and the commencement of the terms of members of the Congress has several unfortunate effects, chief of which are the following: (1) While the newly elected members of a Congress normally wait for more than a year to take office, members of the old Congress continue to legislate for four months of that time. There is always the possibility that laws may be enacted during that period which are in opposition to the latest expression of popular will. (2) A member of the Congress may be entirely out of touch with his constituency before he ever takes his seat. Furthermore, in the case of a member of the House of Representatives, more than half of his term has expired before he takes his seat and he is often confronted with a primary campaign before his congressional service is well started and before he has established any record. (3) In case the electoral college fails to elect a President and the choice falls to the House of Representatives, under the present system it is the old House which elects rather than the new one, the members of which have been elected upon the same issues as those influencing the presidential election.

Resolutions proposing a constitutional amendment setting dates in January as the time for the terms of officers to begin and expire and for the convening of the Congress have passed the Senate in each of the four most recent Congresses. A similar resolution received a majority vote in the House in the spring of 1928, but not the necessary two-thirds majority required to submit constitutional amendments to the states. The proposal if enacted would make a fundamental, constructive improvement in the machinery of government to which there can be no honest opposition.

Congressional debates, reported in the *Congressional Record* as follows:

Sixty-Seventh Congress, Fourth Session, Vol. 64, Part 4, pp. 3492 and 3538-3540.

Sixty-Eighth Congress, First Session, Vol. 65, Part 4, pp. 3673, 3940, 3943, and 4141; Vol. 65, Part 5, pp. 4231, 4240, 4317, and 4410-4418.

Sixty-Ninth Congress, First Session, Vol. 67, Part 3, p. 3083; Vol. 67, Part 4, pp. 3965-3971.

Seventieth Congress, First Session, Vol. 69, No. 16, Jan. 4, 1928, pp. 962-967; Vol. 69, No. 64, March 6, 1928, pp. 4290-4315; Vol. 69, No. 66, March 8, 1928, pp. 4465-4491.

Department of Efficiency in Government
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#37

Questions and Answers

Concerning the

Newton Bill

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November, 1928

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#38

Voters' Campaign Information Service

Report of the Radio Committee
of the
National League of Women Voters

"THE EDUCATION OF CITIZENS
IS THE SAFEGUARD OF
THE REPUBLIC"

Our New Inheritance Law

X- JK 1881

DOROTHY KENYON

.L4

#39

NEW YORK STATE has for many years lagged behind other states and countries in the protection given the home on the death of its breadwinner. Dower, so much thought of as the mainstay of widows, is one of the emptiest rights in the world. In the days of feudalism man's principal wealth was his land, while his personal property generally consisted of nothing but a prancing horse and the suit of mail in which he rode forth to battle. In those days dower had a meaning. Nowadays, what with stocks and bonds and other personal property of all sorts and descriptions, dower means little. And even to the farm-woman it means much less than she thinks it does. For it is only a right during her lifetime to one-third of the farm income, not a right to the farm itself, as most women think. And a farm income does not amount to much nowadays.

Except for dower, every husband in New York State has complete freedom to dispose of his property as he pleases. He is at liberty to leave his wife and children practically penniless. Such things as the stove, the family Bible and a small amount of cash go direct to the wife upon the death of her husband. These things are called her "exempt" property. Except for them she may and often does get exactly nothing.

If a man dies without leaving a will, his widow (where there are no children) sees the title to the farm or other real property going out of her hands and into the hands of those who may be uncongenial to her, her husband's parents or brothers or sisters as the case may be. His personal property is likewise divided up between his wife and these relatives of the husband. In most cases the husband, if he thought about it at all, would want everything to go to his wife. But the law provides otherwise.

A law devised in the feudal era is ill-adjusted to contemporary conditions. So we are now trying to bring ours up to date. The new inheritance law, which was passed last winter and which goes into effect September 1, 1930, is based on the premise that it is important to society to have the home held together after the death of the principal breadwinner. The emphasis is on the home rather than on the individual. Man's freedom to do what he wants with his own is curtailed in the interest of security to his family. On the Continent of Europe this is accomplished by giving the children as well as the wife some share in the dead man's property. In this country it is the wife only who is thus protected. But the purpose is the same. Since a widow is obligated to support her chil-

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#40

THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

By
BEATRICE PITNEY

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#42

The Background of Our Child Labor Problem

AN ADDRESS

By

DOROTHY KIRCHWEY BROWN

Delivered at the Eighth National Convention
National League of Women Voters
Chicago, Illinois

April, 1928

Published by the
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#43

What Do We Expect?

Address of the President

MISS BELLE SHERWIN

AT THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Washington, D. C.

April 24, 1929

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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Twenty-Five Questions
on Arbitration and
Peaceful Settlement

By

BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB

1. What are the forms of pacific settlement of disputes?
 - a. diplomatic negotiations
 - b. good offices
 - c. mediation
 - d. conciliation
 - e. arbitration
 - f. decision by an international court — "judicial settlement"
2. What is meant by diplomatic negotiations? Diplomatic negotiations is the oldest method of attempting to settle international disputes and it is still the first step taken when a controversy arises. By this system the government of one of the disputing countries carries on correspondence with another by "diplomatic notes" and through ambassadors or other foreign representatives. No third party is called in to help in the adjustment.
3. What is meant by good offices? Good offices is the offer of friendly suggestions or advice which a third power may make to the disputing countries in its desire to help them reach a solution of their controversy.
4. What is mediation? Mediation is the procedure whereby a third nation or a disinterested party gives assistance in the settlement of a dispute and attempts to reconcile the opposing claims.
5. What is conciliation? Conciliation is the procedure whereby a dispute is submitted to a conciliation commission which carefully examines the facts, defines the issues and attempts to bring the disputing nations together by suggesting some basis of settlement. These suggestions are not binding, but the disputants promise in advance not to resort to war until the commission has finished its work and usually not until a certain length of time thereafter. A conciliation commission is usually composed of members chosen in equal

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#45

STUDY OUTLINE
for
FOUR LESSONS ON
LATIN AMERICA

by
LOUISA K. FAST

Published by
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The

#46

London

NAVAL TREATY
OF 1930

By

BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB



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THE GREAT ADMINISTRATION

By

MARGUERITE M. WELLS

*Address Delivered at the Seventh Annual Convention
of the*

National League of Women Voters

ST. LOUIS, APRIL 17, 1926

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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The National League of Women Voters— A Triumph For Thinking Womanhood*

By ANNA STEESE RICHARDSON

Director, Good Citizenship Bureau of the Woman's Home Companion

IN FEBRUARY, 1920, I traveled to Chicago to see the National American Woman Suffrage Association celebrate the passage of the 19th Amendment. I remained to see the National League of Women Voters born.

On the night of the Victory Party I watched pioneer suffrage workers like Carrie Chapman Catt, Mary Garrett Hay and Nettie R. Shuler smiling down from a flower-banked platform on the rank and file of celebrators as they marched round and round the banquet hall, waving banners and flags, releasing yellow and white balloons, and singing the stirring songs to which they had often paraded past booing or hostile crowds.

The scene left me cold. I had seen Colorado Indians swaying in a war dance; California boosters dancing around bonfires; West Point cadets doing their famous snake dance, and delegates to national political conventions pushing their way through crowded aisles at the command of their party leaders. America's favorite indoor sport, giving vent to its emotions.

The next morning I saw the same women assemble in a dull, drab classroom for the first session of the first school in Citizenship, called by Carrie Chapman Catt. There was no precedent for this gathering, no tested and tried course of study. Once more Mrs. Catt and her co-workers were pioneering and with no uncertain touch.

Mrs. Catt's opening remarks were simple and direct. Women must redeem their promise to develop an intelligent electorate among the members of their own sex. And to do this, they must know their government, their rights and obligations as voters, and their political candidates. They must establish schools in citizenship.

Taking notes on the scarred arms of the hard wooden chairs of that dingy classroom where such women as Mrs. Maud Wood Park, the first chairman of the National League of Women Voters; Miss Katherine Ludington, who has so ably directed the Voters' Radio Service during the past year; Mrs. George Gelhorn, outstanding citizen of St. Louis; Mrs. Richard E. Edwards, who carried the League's banner into Indiana; Mrs. James Paige, of Minnesota, and Mrs. C. B. Simmons, of Oregon, both of whom have served in their State legislatures; and Marie Ames, who gave the first short courses in civics and government in southern colleges for women.

Women in their thirties, forties, fifties, even sixties tackling one of the most abstruse of academic studies, political economy and gov-

*Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Pennsylvania League of Women Voters for April, 1930.

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The LEAGUE OF NATIONS

By

BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB

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#151

Explanation of the Program

of the

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National League of Women Voters

1930-1932

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THE ROOT FORMULA AND THE WORLD COURT

By

BEATRICE PITNEY LAMB

Second Revision

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Among the Pillars of Society

Address of the President

MISS BELLE SHERWIN

AT THE MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE
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Washington, D. C.

April 14, 1931

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#58

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(A United States Introduction)

by

ELIZABETH DAY

Detroit, Michigan, April 1932

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Electing The President

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#160

KEEPING PACE WITH THE TIMES

A Study Outline for Use With
"Toward 'Equal Rights' for Men and Women"
by Ethel M. Smith
And Related Pamphlets

Prepared by Ruth Hastings

Published by
Committee on the Legal Status of Women
National League of Women Voters

Washington, D. C.
April, 1932

The Aftermath of Sheppard-Towner

By ADA M. BARNETT

Press Secretary National League of Women Voters

AS the Seventy-second Congress convenes for what promises to be the most spirited session since the World War, headlines on the moratorium of foreign debts, navy appropriations, disarmament and unemployment relief inform newspaper readers in every country that Senate and House are grappling with great problems. But one bill to be introduced early in the session will receive few headlines although it means life or death to thousands. The object of that bill is to stimulate and assist the states to provide means of saving the lives of more than a quarter of a million mothers and infants who are dying each year for want of care. It deals with a problem which is "always with us," but to the factors which cause babies and mothers to die in years of normal economic activity must this year be added the distressing conditions accompanying economic depression.

Since the expiration in 1929 of the Sheppard-Towner Act, which for seven years enabled the federal government and the state to cooperate in the protection of motherhood and childhood, each state has been left alone with this problem. Investigations made by the National League of Women Voters during the summer of 1931 show that while some states are keeping up the work they started with federal aid and encouragement, others are not. A comparison of the appropriations made by state legislatures for the fiscal year 1931-32 with the total of state appropriations in 1928 plus the federal aid accepted under the Sheppard-Towner Act, indicated that work so propitiously begun has declined seriously. Less than one third of the states make an appropriation for maternity and infancy hygiene as such, and since there now is no federal aid which calls for accurate accounting, few states keep adequate records of the proportion of the appropriation to the state health department which is spent for maternity and infancy work. Approximate figures, however, reveal that in 1932 only twenty-one states will carry on a maternity and infancy program approximately equal to or slightly exceeding the program they conducted under the Sheppard-Towner Act; nine states will carry on a program apparently equal to one half or more of the program of 1928; twelve states and Hawaii will do less than half; three states have no appropriation available for maternity and infancy hygiene work and

X- JK 1881

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.L4

Explanation of the Program
of the
Department of Legal Status of Women
National League of Women Voters
1932-1934

DEPARTMENT OF LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 Seventeenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.
September, 1932

Price: Ten Cents per Copy



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.L4

#163

Facing the Future

Address of the President

Miss Belle Sherwin
to the
Tenth Convention
Third Biennial

National League of Women Voters
Detroit, Michigan
April 25 to 30, 1932

Published by the
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 SEVENTEENTH STREET, NORTHWEST
Washington, D. C.

First Printing, April, 1932
Second Printing, September, 1932

Price: 10 Cents



Explanation of the Program
of the
Department of Child Welfare
National League of Women Voters
1932-1934

Child Welfare depends upon the wisdom of our laws and the efficiency of their administration. It depends also upon the character of public institutions and government departments concerned with the protection and care of children. The quality of service reflects the interest and intelligence of the voter and is an indication of the extent of his participation in public affairs.

DEPARTMENT OF CHILD WELFARE
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 Seventeenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.
September, 1932

Price: Ten Cents per Copy



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.L4

#63

Explanation of the Program
of the
Department of Living Costs
1932 - 1934

Published by the
DEPARTMENT OF LIVING COSTS
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 Seventeenth Street, Northwest
Washington, D. C.
September, 1932

Price: Ten Cents per Copy



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#66

Why Join

the League

of Women Voters?

An organization whose first object
is to increase the number of
responsible voting citizens

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

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#67

THE UNITED STATES
AND
THE PRINCIPLE OF
INTERNATIONAL CONSULTATION

By
ANNE HARTWELL JOHNSTONE

Published by
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Department of
International Cooperation to Prevent War
1622 Grand Central Terminal Building
NEW YORK CITY

February, 1934

PRICE: FIFTEEN CENTS PER COPY

X- JK 1881

L4

#68

Department of
Government and Education

An Explanation of the Program of Work

1934 - 1936

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Price 15 cents

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.L4

#169

YOUR MONEY AND MINE

An Analysis of Our National Income

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Price 10 cents

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#170

Explanation of the Program
of the
Department of Women in Industry
National League of Women Voters
1932-1934

Published by the

DEPARTMENT OF WOMEN IN INDUSTRY
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

532 Seventeenth Street, N. W.

Washington, D. C.

March, 1933

Price: Ten Cents per Copy



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.L4

#71

Pointing the Way in 1933

Address of the President

MISS BELLE SHERWIN

At the Meeting of the General Council of the

National League of Women Voters

Washington, D. C.

April 25, 1933

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

532 SEVENTEENTH STREET, NORTHWEST

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May, 1933

Price: Ten Cents per Copy



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.L4

#72

THAT

\$

SHRINKING

\$

DOLLAR

\$

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

April, 1935



25 copies—25 cents

National League of Women Voters
Department of Government and Economic Welfare
726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.
September, 1935

WHAT'S IN A CAN?
A Survey for Consumers

Neat rows of cans on the shelves of the grocery store. Canned fruit, canned vegetables, canned soups, canned fish, canned meat. Whatever it is you want for dinner, there it is waiting for you. All bother and trouble saved. Just open the can and heat it, or serve it cold.

How correct they look, those cans that have revolutionized our lives. Like soldiers on parade, one might almost say. Each the same bright-colored uniform as the fellow members of his company. All of them bearing the proud name of their brand, printed in large letters on their paper coverings. Some of them also carry a gay and encouraging picture of a gorgeous Bartlett pear, or a superb ear of corn, or a magnificent string bean.

But

Human eyes have no X-ray powers. What is inside the can?

Like everything else, canned goods can be good, bad and indifferent. Those grocery shelves contain a wide range of quality. How are we to be sure to get the most for our money?

Can we rely on the appearance of the can? Can we rely simply on the name of a well-advertized brand? Can we rely on price as an indication of quality?

Did you know that canned goods can be graded according to quality?

Did you know that all canned goods must be sold by grade in Canada?

Did you know that American producers when they export canned goods to Canada do so by grade?

Did you know that the United States Department of Agriculture has worked out grades for certain canned vegetables and fruits? The first grade is called Grade A, or Fancy; the second grade is called Grade B, or Choice; the third grade is called Grade C, or Standard. Everything below Grade C is sub-standard.

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NATIONAL LEAGUE
OF WOMEN VOTERS



PRINCIPLES
AND
POLICIES



726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

CALL
to
CONVENTION
of the
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
1936

The Board of Directors of the National League of Women Voters hereby calls the affiliated State Leagues to send delegates to the Twelfth National Convention—the Fifth Biennial Convention—to be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, from the 27th of April to the 1st of May, 1936.

Come to the Convention to plan two years' work which will engage an ever increasing membership, to the end that in every community there shall be a group of citizens who carry an effective responsibility concerning public affairs.

Marguerite M. Wells, *President*

Carrie Chapman Catt, *Honorary President*

Louise G. Baldwin
Elizabeth G. Whiting
Anna Lord Strauss
Elizabeth L. Savage
Winifred N. Prince
Margaret Roan
Caroline B. McGeoch
Gertrude P. Feige
Edna J. Van Buskirk

Mary G. Barnum
Katharine C. Greenough
Edith Putnam Mangold
Frances N. Anderson
Beatrice Pitney Lamb
Edith Valet Cook
Louise Leonard Wright
Augusta J. Street

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.L4

#76

BY - LAWS
of the
National League of Women Voters

As Amended by the Twelfth Convention

April 28-May 1, 1936

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
726 JACKSON PLACE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Price 10 cents

The pre-election job of the League is related to (1) registration of voters, (2) party procedure - party caucuses, party conventions, presidential primaries, and party primaries, and (3) the election. In order to do a good job the League must prepare. Preparation involves getting together certain information and training certain people so that the information is made available and useful to the League and the public.

Information Needed

The outline, "What the Voter Needs to Know in 1936" indicates what state and local Leagues need to find out about their particular political calendars and what material should be gathered together. Every local League can expect to be turned to for factual information related to the mechanism of the election processes. Such information should be assembled, perhaps by one person or a small committee, should be carefully checked with official sources for accuracy, and should be the kind of information which is a matter of official record. Several brief study meetings of the group who are to take charge of information services is advisable. It would be well for this group:

- to secure sample ballots from county clerk or other officers in charge of distributing them, if available;

- to make a political calendar showing the dates in the months ahead on which the voter may register or vote in a primary or an election for local, state, or national officers;

- to secure or prepare county maps for the state showing the state legislative districts, congressional districts and judicial districts (if judges are elected); also ward and precinct maps;

- to find out the total number of seats the state has in Congress and whether any Congressmen are elected at large (a few states have not redrawn congressional district lines since the reapportionment following the 1930 census);

- to prepare a "candidates' calendar", showing the office sought, whether candidacy should be filed with the secretary of state, the county clerk, city clerk, or other officer, the time when petitions should be filed, the number of signatures and any geographical distribution required for the various offices.

Information Distributed

Many Leagues have found information booths set up in central places, immediately preceding important political dates, a very successful method of disseminating election information. Sometimes the League office itself becomes a major reference place with special telephones listed and advertised in the newspapers. Demonstrations of the operation of voting machines and marking of ballots are a useful public service when performed by a non-partisan group. One-day voters' schools and citizenship schools, often combining emphasis on what a new voter should know, discussion pre and con on major election issues and speeches from candidates, are arranged by many local Leagues.

SOCIAL SECURITY — OLD AGE ASSISTANCE

A Guide for State and Local League Action in States with Plans Already in Operation

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT offers assistance to the needy aged.

It provides that the United States Government will pay to your state an amount equal to one-half the state funds allotted for assistance to the needy aged. (Federal maximum \$15.00 per person.) In addition the federal government makes a supplementary grant to your state which may be used for administrative expenses. The Social Security Board is responsible for the federal program through its Bureau of Public Assistance.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STATE LEAGUE ACTION

1. Know Your Plan

Secure a copy of the law authorizing Old Age Assistance in your state and other related material from the state agency which administers the law. Examine it carefully, noting especially:

Character and functions of agency chosen to administer the law

Eligibility for receiving old age assistance:

age requirement	responsibility of relatives
residence requirement	establishment of need
citizenship requirement	property ownership limitations

Procedure for applying for aid; investigating applicants; granting assistance; supplementary services

Amount of assistance granted; how determined?

Amount of state and local appropriations for assistance, and for its administration. Do the funds available equal the federal maximum available to your state?

Relation of old age assistance administration to other public relief agencies

Probable effects of federal old age benefits under the Social Security Act on old age assistance

Number of state employees of the state old age assistance agency and their duties. How are they selected? Is there a system of appointment on the basis of merit?*

The above information may be obtained from the State Old Age Assistance Agency.

2. Support

Adequate appropriations *

Effective operation of a merit system for appointment of old age assistance employees. If there is none, work for such a system for the Old Age Assistance Division.* **

SOCIAL SECURITY — UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

A Guide for State and Local League Action in States with Plans Already in Operation

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT encourages states to enact laws giving compensation to unemployed workers.

It provides that employers of 8 or more (with some exceptions) shall pay a tax to the United States Government (1% of their pay roll in 1936; 2% in 1937; 3% in 1938 and annually thereafter). However, if a state has an unemployment compensation law approved by the Social Security Board, employers may credit their state tax against the federal tax (up to 90% of the latter). The United States Government offers grants to the states to cover the entire cost of administering approved state unemployment compensation laws.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STATE LEAGUE ACTION

1. Know Your State Law

Secure a copy of your state unemployment compensation law from the state agency administering it. Examine its provisions carefully, noting especially:

State tax for unemployment compensation:

Amount paid by employers. Exemptions. Is merit rating of employers provided?

Amount paid by employees

Amount paid by state

Type of funds: pooled? reserve? combination? guaranteed employment?

Coverage: number of employees—8 or more? 5 or more? 4 or more? 1 or more?

Benefits: size; length of waiting period before payable; duration; qualifications for receiving; disqualifications? How are benefits paid?

Through what agency? Is your state cooperating under the Wagner-Peyser Act? Does your state have reciprocal arrangements with other states for benefit payments?

State administrative agency: character and functions; number of employees; how selected? Is there a system of appointment on a merit basis?*

Advisory Council: number and type of members; duties?

2. Find out

Amount of federal funds granted for state administrative cost.

System set up for recording wages, hours and employment of insured workers.

Method provided for collecting of tax from employers; from employees.

Have all employers paid the tax in your state? Are employer contributions deducted from wages?

The above information may be obtained from the state agency administering unemployment compensation and from your state employment service.

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#20

SOCIAL SECURITY — AID FOR DEPENDENT CHILDREN

A Guide for State and Local League Action in States with Plans Already in Operation

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT offers a home and security for every child.

It provides that the United States Government will pay to your state an amount equal to one-third of the state funds allotted for the care of needy, dependent children in their own homes (up to a combined Federal-State maximum of \$18.00 for the first child and \$12.00 for each other child in the same family). The provisions of the Act call for a three-way cooperation—the federal, state, and local aspects of the program are all equally important. The Social Security Board is responsible for the federal program through the Bureau of Public Assistance.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STATE LEAGUE ACTION

1. Know Your Plan

Secure a copy of the aid for dependent children law in your state and other related material from the State Division of Child Welfare, Public Welfare Department or other state agency administering the law. Examine its provisions carefully, noting especially:

Character of agency chosen to administer provisions

Requirements for receiving aid

Causes of dependency recognized

Relatives with whom child can live

Age limits for aid to dependent children as compared with those for child labor and for compulsory education. Is aid for dependent children withdrawn before children have finished school or can go to work?

Effect of your state laws relating to legitimacy on aid to dependent children

Differences between the present law and former laws for mothers' aid in your state

Procedure set up for granting aid to dependent children; for investigation; for supplementary services, etc.

Amount of state appropriations. Are they adequate to care for all needy dependent children?

Number of state employees administering aid to dependent children.

How are they selected? Is there a system for appointment on a merit basis? **

Relate aid to dependent children law to other laws for child welfare in your state; i.e., child labor laws; services for maternal and child health, crippled children, and child welfare under the Social Security Act. (See Social Security Series Nos. 4, 5, 6.)

The above information may be obtained from the state agency which administers aid for dependent children.

2. Support

Adequate appropriations.*

Effective operation of the merit system in the agency which administers aid for dependent children. If there is no system for the appointment of employees on the basis of merit, work for such a system.* **

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#81

SOCIAL SECURITY — MATERNAL AND CHILD HEALTH SERVICES

A Guide for State and Local League Action in States with Plans Already in Operation

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT offers aid to promote the health of mothers and children.

It provides that the federal government will give each state \$20,000 for maternal and child health services, and in addition a portion of \$1,500,000 according to the number of live births in the state. The federal funds must be matched by state or local funds. Additional federal grants are available according to the financial need of the state. The United States Children's Bureau is in charge of the federal program, which is administered through its Maternal and Child Health Division.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STATE LEAGUE ACTION

1. Know Your Plan

Secure a summary of the state plan and program from the state health agency. Examine its provisions carefully, noting especially:

Duties of state health agency in connection with this plan. Is there a Division of Maternal and Child Health to administer it?

Nature and extent of maternal and child health services promoted, especially:

Advisory and supervisory

Special consultants

Post-graduate instruction for professional groups

Training for local public health workers

Promotion of local services by state aid, loan of state staff, etc.

Health education program—publications, etc.

Demonstration services

Areas where services are provided; plans for extending and improving local services

Cooperation with medical, nursing, and welfare groups

Amount of state appropriations. Are they equal to the total federal funds being used for state administration?

Number of employees administering the state plan and their duties.

Are they employed full or part time? How are they selected? Is there a system of appointment on a merit basis? **

Provision for State Advisory Committee

The above information may be obtained from the state health agency.

2. Support

Adequate appropriations.*

Effective operation of a merit system for selection of employees. If there is no provision for the selection of employees on the basis of merit, work for such a provision for maternal and child health services.* **

X- JK 1881

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#82

SOCIAL SECURITY — SERVICES FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

A Guide for State and Local League Action in States with Plans Already in Operation

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT offers care and physical restoration to crippled children.

It provides that the United States Government will pay \$20,000 to each state for the care of crippled children and an additional sum according to the needs of each state. These funds must be matched by the state. The United States Children's Bureau administers the federal program through its Crippled Children's Division.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STATE LEAGUE ACTION

1. Know Your Plan

Secure a summary of the state plan for crippled children from the agency chosen to administer it. (This may be the State Department of Public Health, of Public Welfare, of Education, Crippled Children's Commission, or other agency.) Note especially the following:

Character of agency chosen to administer the program

Duties of this agency in relation to crippled children's program; cooperation with other public agencies, state and local; cooperation with medical, health, nursing and welfare groups, and with state vocational rehabilitation service.

Type of services provided for crippled children:

methods for locating children	after care at home:
clinics for diagnosis	medical supervision
surgical and hospital services	physical training
arrangements for home care	social adjustment
	occupational training
	schooling

Number of crippled children being helped; total not being helped who need care.

Amount of state and local appropriations. Are they equal to the total federal appropriation available? Are they adequate?

Number and duties of state employees administering crippled children's program. How are they selected? Is there a system of appointment on a merit basis? **

The above information can be obtained from the state agency administering the plan.

2. Support

Adequate appropriations *

Effective operation of the merit provision. If there is no provision for selection of employees on the basis of merit, work for such a provision for crippled children's services. * **

X- JK 1831

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#83

SOCIAL SECURITY — CHILD WELFARE SERVICES

A Guide for State and Local League Action in States with Plans Already in Operation

THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT offers protection to homeless, dependent, and neglected children, and to children in danger of becoming delinquent.

It provides that the United States Government will pay \$10,000 to each state with an approved plan for child welfare services. Additional sums are made available to the states on the basis of their rural population. This money is to pay part of the cost of district, county or other local child welfare services in areas predominantly rural and to develop state services to encourage adequate community child welfare organization. The United States Children's Bureau, through the Child Welfare Division, administers the federal program. The state plans are developed jointly by the Children's Bureau and the state public welfare agency.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STATE LEAGUE ACTION

1. Know Your Plan

Secure a summary of the state plan from the state public welfare agency
Examine its provisions carefully, noting especially the following:

Character of agency chosen to administer provisions

Nature of program extending local child welfare services, especially in relation to:

- advisory and supervisory services
- special consultants
- promotion of local child welfare organization
- training for local workers
- services given directly to children
- service to institutions
- relation to aid to dependent children administration

Sections of state where such aid is given; local demonstration areas

Number of children cared for under this program

Amount of state appropriations, federal appropriations. Are they adequate?

Number and duties of employees of state administrative agency. How are they selected? Is there a system of appointment on a merit basis? ** Is there a provision for in-service training?

The above information may be obtained from the state welfare agency administering the plan.

2. Support

Adequate appropriations *

Effective operation of the merit provision. If there is no provision for selection of employees on the basis of merit, work for such a provision for child welfare services.* **

.L4

#84

SUGGESTIONS FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION

A Guide for State and Local Leagues

1. Adoption by the State League convention of subjects to receive League legislative support

2. Education

Membership. The appropriate chairman should prepare material for study and invent projects in which as many members as possible can participate. Such members when prepared will interview legislators and reach the public.

Public. Members of the community though not in the League of Women Voters should be educated on the proposed legislation through:

- Newspapers.
- Meetings with speeches.
- Personal contact.

3. Questionnaires and Interviews

Questionnaires. These should be prepared primarily for the purpose of giving information about the League's position and only secondly to secure information on the candidate's position. Care should be taken that the candidate feels free to express himself without its being considered a pledge.

Interviews. Legislators should be interviewed in their own communities, before they go to the session, by League members who are well equipped to explain the League's interest in the proposed legislation.

4. The Bill

The State board decides standards and essential provisions,—makes decisions on League position towards specific measures.

If the legislation has already been introduced at previous sessions or is in preparation for the coming session, the League should make contacts with the previous authors and supporters in order to offer co-operation and to provide for the inclusion of satisfactory provisions or the exclusion of unsatisfactory provisions.

If no bill has been drafted, League friends should be consulted who are acquainted with the field of the proposed legislation, such as members of governmental agencies.

An author should then be chosen, namely a legislator who will introduce the bill and promote it. Remember that though the legislator may be influenced by your wishes, you have no official standing in the legislature and he has. It is his bill.

5. Hearings

Consult with friends of the measure in the legislature about whether a hearing would be helpful

If a hearing is arranged, the League should offer to plan for a good presentation of its side by persons representing the various phases of the bill.

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#85

SOCIAL SECURITY—TRAINED PERSONNEL

A Guide for State and Local League Action

The Federal Social Security Act must be implemented by state laws. The accomplishment of the purpose of these state laws depends largely upon the effectiveness of their administration. The selection of personnel on the basis of merit is the most effective safeguard for proper administration. In view of the campaign of the National League of Women Voters to secure better government personnel, it is logical that the state and local Leagues should undertake the support of merit provisions for the selection of personnel in all state laws matching the Social Security Act.

SUGGESTIONS FOR STATE LEAGUE ACTION

If your state has a civil service law—

Know

1. Whether your state social security laws provide that state and local employees are under the classified civil service, or whether they are exempted.
2. What regulations are set up by law and practice for selection, promotion and dismissal of state and local employees? Are they adequate? To what extent are selections influenced by politics?

Support:

If your state social security employees are under the classified civil service—

1. Adequate appropriations for state civil service commission to enforce adequately (along with its other duties) the provisions of the law which relate to the selection of social security employees.*
2. Amendments to state civil service or social security laws if they fail to meet adequate requirements for selection of personnel on the basis of merit.*
3. Regulations regarding salary scale, efficiency ratings, promotions, and tenure which would foster the development of a career service.

If your state and local social security employees are exempted from the state classified civil service law—

1. Amendments to state social security law to remove exemptions.*
2. If this is not immediately attainable, the establishment by the governor or chief of the agency of a good system of personnel selection and administration within the agency.

If your state does not have a civil service law—

Know

Methods by which state and local employees are selected, promoted, discharged. To what extent does politics influence their selection?

Support:

If your state is considering the adoption of state social security laws—

Provisions in these laws to require the selection of state and local employees on the basis of merit.* There should be a specific provision in the law for: classification of positions; establishment of salary schedules; examination of applicants to determine fitness; strict limitation of temporary appointments; prevention of appointments of persons who are officers of a political party organization.

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#86

ACHIEVEMENTS

In Increasing Citizen
Participation in Government



THE NATIONAL LEAGUE
OF WOMEN VOTERS

726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

CHARACTER

EXTENT

ACTIVITIES

LEAGUE MILESTONES

CALL
to
CONVENTION
of the
NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
1938

THE Board of Directors of the National League of Women Voters hereby calls the affiliated State Leagues to send delegates to the thirteenth National Convention to be held in St. Louis, Missouri, from April 25 to 29, 1938.

All who attend, whether as delegates, alternates or visitors, will share responsibility for the success of the convention and for shaping League policies of the future.

Marguerite M. Wells, *President*

Carrie Chapman Catt, *Honorary President*

Frances N. Anderson
Louise G. Baldwin
Mary G. Barnum
Florence Fifer Bohrer
Dorothy Kirchwey Brown
Jeannette B. Cheek
Edith Valet Cook

Harriet J. Eliel
Edna Gellhorn
Katharine C. Greenough
Susan F. Hibbard
Margaret Roan
Anna Lord Strauss
Louise Leonard Wright

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#88

National League of Women Voters

~L4

Washington, D. C.

THE AMENDING PROCESS

The Orderly Method of Change

by Katharine Croan Greenough



10 cents

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#89

DR. HERMAN FINER

THE DEMOCRATIC AND
THE FASCIST IDEA OF
GOVERNMENT

SPEECH GIVEN AT THE
NATIONAL CONVENTION
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
APRIL 1938

PRICE: TEN CENTS

NATIONAL LEAGUE of WOMEN VOTERS

X- JK 1881

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#90

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

THE ROLE OF THE
SUPREME COURT IN A
DEMOCRATIC NATION

SPEECH GIVEN AT THE
NATIONAL CONVENTION
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI
APRIL 1938

PRICE: TEN CENTS

X-JK 1981

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191

A STORY OF
Achievement
FOR THE ELECTORATE

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

726 Jackson Place
WASHINGTON, D. C.

X- JK 1881

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#192

ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION

1920-1940

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS



APRIL 29-MAY 3, 1940

THE COMMODORE

NEW YORK CITY

X-JK/881

.L4

#93

Program

14th CONVENTION • APRIL 29—MAY 3, 1940 • NEW YORK CITY

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS •

#194

TWENTIETH

ANNIVERSARY

CONVENTION

X- JK 1881

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THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Banquet

Thursday, May the Second, Nineteen Hundred and Forty
at seven-thirty o'clock

THE COMMODORE HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY

#95

TO PROMOTE

X- JK 1881

.L4

- NATIONAL PROSPERITY
- SCIENTIFIC TARIFF-MAKING
- WORLD PEACE

● KEEP THE TRADE AGREEMENTS PROGRAM ●

The Reciprocal Trade Agreements Program was established by Congress in 1934 and renewed in 1937. It authorizes the President to negotiate with foreign countries for mutual lowering of trade barriers within specified limits set by Congress. It provides under the "most-favored-nation clause" for the extension of any concession made to one nation to all nations who agree in turn to grant the United States trade privileges they extend to other nations. The Act expires on June 12, 1940, unless reenacted by Congress.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

January 1940

100 copies \$1.25

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

L4

#96

January 4, 1940

Price 5¢

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS AND TRADE AGREEMENTS

A chronological statement of the League's tariff history for use of League leaders.

Background

Study The League of Women Voters has had the subject of tariff on its study program since 1924. At the National Convention of the League in that year, there was recommended for study by the Committee on Living Costs "the relation between tariff legislation and living costs." In 1934, 1924 when the program was realigned, this item was transferred to the new Department of Government and Economic Welfare, still as a study item but reworded to read, "tariff adjustments and the trade agreements."

The item was underwritten in special leaflets and committee letters and in the Explanations of the Program which described the current method of tariff making, the role of Congress and the Tariff Commission, and emphasized the direct relation of tariffs to the cost of living. The National Chairman of this department attended tariff hearings in Washington and reported on the subject to the League membership.

During this period, interest also developed in tariff as it related to international cooperation and American foreign policy. In 1924 the League's Department of International Cooperation to Prevent War first began to work in the field of international economic cooperation. Such an item was carried on the program continuously thereafter. In 1934 tariff appeared specifically on the Foreign Policy program for the first time as a "domestic policy affecting international relations," while also continuing under the Economic Welfare program.

First Major publications underwriting the League's study of tariff from the domestic and international angle included:

Major History of the Tariff in the United States, by Idella G. Swisher
Study 19 pages, 2000 copies issued in 1930.

Materials An Introduction to a Study of the Tariff, by Idella G. Swisher
120 pages, 2000 copies issued in 1931.
2000 copies issued in 1932.
A technical study of the development of tariff policies of the United States.

Study Questions on the Tariff, by Louise G. Baldwin
7 pages, 2000 issued in 1931.

Economic Causes of War and the Hope for the Future, by Beatrice P. Lamb
88 pages, 3000 issued in 1932.
This pamphlet deals with the causes of economic conflict including friction arising out of international trade and tariff.

In 1934, Secretary Wallace's America Must Choose was distributed to state officers who promoted its study among local Leagues.

X- JK 1881

March, 1940

Price 5¢

.L4

ORGANIZATION FOR PEACE

Study material to be used with the pamphlet
"European Plans for World Order" by
William P. Maddox of the University of
Pennsylvania.

Introduction

Plans for permanent peace are engaging the public's attention almost as much as is the prosecution of the wars. With the information and interest accumulated in the last twenty years, the American public is viewing the present world chaos with constructive proposals for the future. It is impossible to know before the end of hostilities what specific arrangements can be made. But there is a growing acceptance of the fact that international order will not be achieved by wishful thinking and that definite organization of the nations of the world accompanied by their assumption of responsibility for the maintenance of peace is necessary.

The questions now being discussed are what kind of plan most nearly meets the problem of organizing for peace and what plan has the most chance of acceptance. The accompanying pamphlet "European Plans for World Order" gives the text and some comments on the major proposals which are currently discussed. Probably none of these plans is the perfect solution, certainly it is too early to become unalterably committed to any one plan. But it is hoped that out of the discussion of a variety of plans, the main issues will be clarified and some composite plan produced.

Although the organization of peace is usually discussed in terms of the European situation and the United States is a well recognized neutral in that conflict, nevertheless, the United States has a very real stake in the organization of European peace and the public is therefore quite right in expressing its interest in the future of Europe. The outcome of the war in Europe as well as that in the Far East will determine the size and nature of our defense system, our foreign trade policy, our relations with Latin America, the prestige of democracy and the exercise of individual liberty. As the richest, most powerful, least involved nation in the world, the United States may be called upon to exercise its influence in the organization of peace. Any such action, however, will undoubtedly have to be accompanied by a decision as to the degree of responsibility which the United States is willing to assume for the maintenance of world peace.

Louise Leonard Wright



National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

January 30, 1940
Price: 5¢ a copy
25¢ for 10 copies

#93

X- JK 1881

Statement from the National League of Women Voters
in support of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Program

.L4

To: House Committee on Ways and Means
By: Mrs. Harris T. Baldwin, 1st vice-president

The National League of Women Voters wishes to express its support of reenactment of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. This is the second time that the League has submitted its position to this Committee. In January, 1937, when hearings were held on the first reenactment of the 1934 Act, we filed a statement with you unconditionally supporting continuation intact of the Trade Agreements Program.

Background of In 1924 the League of Women Voters took up the study of the
League's Support tariff. As newly enfranchised citizens, members of the League of Women Voters became interested in tariff from the standpoint of their individual interests. Wives of New England manufacturers, wives of North Dakota farmers had been accustomed to hearing tariffs talked about by their husbands. As new voters they began their careers feeling responsible for participating in the debate on this subject. During the twelve years between 1924 and 1936 League members all over the country worked on tariffs. They organized study groups; they published leaflets and pamphlets and widely distributed them; they participated in local meetings and arranged for radio programs; and they constantly related local tariff problems to national tariff-making.

The League's consideration of ^{the} tariff developed along three main lines. First, in its relation to living costs, the effect of high tariffs on the cost of goods in the market basket became evident. Second, the relation of tariffs to war and peace was dramatized when foreign nations vigorously protested our own high tariff barriers and began retaliating with higher ones of their own. Gradually, League members decided that in general our tariff rates were too high and that a downward revision would be helpful to the consuming public, to American economy as a whole,

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#99

FACTS

about the

League of Women Voters



1919-1941

Nature

Organization

Activities

History

#100

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Citizens

Without

Votes

The District of Columbia
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

1216 CONNECTICUT AVENUE

MAY, 1941

December 1941

30c with pamphlets
Outline separately 10c

X- JK 1881

.L4

#101

CRISIS IN U. S.—JAPANESE RELATIONS

Study outline for use with *America Faces Japan*, by William C. Johnstone, and *Philippine Emergency*, by Catherine Porter.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS**I. America Faces Japan**

Using the map, trace the route followed by the Clippers, and locate the bases held by the United States, the British Empire, the Netherlands, Japan, Russia, and France. Note the proximity of Siberia and Alaska.

Review briefly the background of American policy in the Far East.

State the Japanese case and discuss the policy she is now pursuing to bring about the "New Order" in Asia. Relate this policy to the European scene.

Discuss the present policy of the United States in the Pacific pointing out its relationship to the Atlantic policy.

What are the principal factors in Japan's dilemma? What alternative courses seem to be open to her? Discuss the possibility of reconciling the policies of Japan and the United States.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

#102

STRIKES AND THE CITIZEN

_____ A Quiz _____

HOW THE CITIZEN CAN HELP

1. Are labor disputes a serious obstacle to "all-out" production?

Yes. Time lost in the production of defense material, whether caused by strikes, lock-outs, lack of materials, or delay in accepting contracts, seriously jeopardizes "all-out" production. Strikes in basic industries may tie up other plants dependent on them for supplies. A realization on the part of both labor and management of the imminent danger which threatens the United States will go far toward developing a cooperative attitude whereby delays will be minimized and production placed first.

2. Is the public usually in a position to judge the right and wrong of a labor dispute?

No. Issues involved in strikes are complex, and facts are not easily available. Even publishable facts are frequently not presented fully and fairly to the public. For complete understanding, a knowledge of the industry as well as of the origin of the labor dispute is needed. Therefore, the public should suspend judgment until an impartial agency which has the facilities for determining the facts has had an opportunity to act. The citizen can exert his influence by developing a thoughtful and tolerant attitude, by not making snap judgments, by recognizing that labor and management are inter-dependent and that the cooperation of both is needed to produce the goods.



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NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

#103

PRICES AND INFLATION

A Quiz

1. Why is the cost of living increased by the defense program?

The cost of living is affected by any change in the supply of consumer goods and in the amount of money and credit available to purchase them. At present both of these factors are operating in such a way as to cause prices to rise. The demand for consumer goods has increased during the last year because higher wages, profits and dividends, and more widespread employment have put greater purchasing power in the hands of the public. At the same time, the needs of defense industries for materials formerly used in consumer goods have created shortages at the very time when the demand is on the upgrade. There is no single reason for price rises. The interplay of government and business policies, and the trade dislocations caused by war in the world, act together to force prices up.

2. How much has the cost of living increased?

Between June 1940 and July 1941, the cost of living rose 4.1% with food prices accounting for 60% of the increase due mainly to large government purchases including those under the Lease-Lend program, increased consumer purchasing power, and the farm program.



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5c a copy
\$2.50 for 100 copies

#104

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726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

CIVIL LIBERTY AND DEMOCRACY

A Quiz

WHAT IS CIVIL LIBERTY?

1. What does the term civil liberty or civil rights usually mean?

Civil liberty refers to the rights of individuals in a society of free men. The rights included within the meaning of this term have varied from century to century and from country to country. Even today in the United States, civil liberty does not have a fixed meaning, but it usually refers to the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution, more generally known as the Bill of Rights.

These rights, which put restraints on the federal government, include the basic personal freedoms of speech, assembly, press, religion and petition; the military guarantees, i.e., the right to form a militia and to be protected against the billeting of soldiers in times of peace; and legal guarantees against unreasonable search and seizure of persons and property, against conviction for a crime without a jury trial, against excessive bail, against deprivation of life, liberty or property without due process of law, and against seizure of property by the government without compensation. Many of these rights are also written into the state constitutions to protect the citizen against the state governments.



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726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

#1105

TAXES:

1942 AND AFTER

_____ A Quiz _____

FINANCING NATIONAL DEFENSE

1. What does a satisfactory program of defense financing aim to do?

Raise the necessary money. Distribute the burden equitably. Help check inflation. Facilitate defense production. Minimize post-war dislocations.

2. In order to plan such a program, what factors must be taken into account?

The amount of money that will be spent by the government: for defense, for other purposes. The best way of securing the money: borrowing from banks, borrowing from individuals and corporations, taxation. The most equitable method of levying taxes.

3. What goals are considered desirable in financing the present defense program?

Taxes. The Secretary of the Treasury has said that as much as possible of the government's income should be secured from taxes and has suggested a ratio of $\frac{2}{3}$ by taxation and $\frac{1}{3}$ by borrowing. One of the important reasons for urging a heavy tax program at this time is that this is one means of checking inflation. As defense production goes into high gear and as money income continues to increase while the goods on which to spend it begin to decrease, taxes become an important means of reducing this excess purchasing power.

In April 1941, a \$3.5 billion tax bill designed to increase federal tax revenues to two-thirds of the government's needs was recommended, but by August



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PUTTING EXPERIENCE TO WORK

"The League could build on its old knowledge to assess the new situation created by defense needs."
—Jeanette B. Cheek

Eight points on which the League of Women Voters program touches emergency defense conditions have been selected by the General Council for emphasis during 1941-42. Eight brief statements, one on each subject, appear below. Eight Quizzes, one on each subject, are published separately.

The Quizzes are designed for reading rather than study, simple introductions to new situations created by defense conditions. Each subject is much under discussion and often in the news. It is hoped that the Quizzes will help readers assess that news. They also serve a second purpose. National, state, or local League action may be undertaken from time to time on one or another of the eight subjects. In that case the Quiz will have prepared members to take part in further study and in eventual action.

Each subject is now on the National program. Several have been there for years. Many League members, therefore, have already acquired familiarity with one or another aspect of the problem involved. Abnormal defense conditions now, however, give a new emphasis to some and involve new problems about others. Almost without exception, solution of a problem under emergency conditions requires more discrimination, not less, than under normal conditions. Relief is one of several striking examples. The League of Women Voters composed not of specialists but of all-round citizens is particularly adapted to exercising such discrimination and of considering a subject in its relation to the whole.

Never has our country stood in greater need of such citizens. Those who are prepared by membership in the League of Women Voters to render a unique service should beware how they encumber themselves with tasks others can perform. If they neither knit, nor collect aluminum, learn first aid nor enroll for lessons in nutrition, they will need no excuse and need fear no reproach. On the contrary, for the service they have learned to perform in the League of Women Voters is a service for which our country now has the greatest need.

To find help in the Quizzes it must be borne in mind that they are intended merely to orient the reader in the present social, economic and political scene. They do not exhaust this subject.

MARGUERITE M. WELLS

10c a copy
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\$60.00 per 1,000 copies

Issued April 19, 1941
Revised May 19, 1941
Revised June 7, 1941
Revised June 20, 1941

It Can Be Won

X- JK 1881

L4

#1107

THE BATTLE OF PRODUCTION

"... the battle of production which is now America's part in the latter-day struggle of slave versus free way. It can be won."

—Rescoe Drummond, The Christian Science Monitor

CONTENTS

Size of the Defense Program
Organization of the Defense Program
Production for the Defense Program
 Industrial capacity
 Labor
 Industrial materials
 Power facilities
 Transportation
Social Problems and Defense
Paying for the Defense Program
Demobilizing Defense Production

Management, labor, the military and the civilian services, Congress and the Executive are factors in winning the battle of production mentioned in the following pages. The determining factor, however, upon which all others depend and which is not mentioned here is every man's will to win.

All the courage it takes to fight a war; all the spirit of unity it takes to win a war; all the sacrifices demanded; all the hard tasks undertaken and drudgery endured by a people at war; all these are demanded of Americans in order to win their battle of production for defense at home and aid abroad to those waging the war for freedom.



NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
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February 1941

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DEFENSE HOUSING

The Division of Defense Housing Coordination was created within the Office for Emergency Management of the Executive Office of the President by executive order of President Roosevelt on January 12, 1941. This new division supersedes the Office of the Defense Housing Coordinator which had been functioning under the Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense. Charles F. Palmer, Chairman of the Atlanta (Ga.) Housing Authority and President of the National Association of Housing Officials, has been appointed Coordinator of Defense Housing. Mr. Palmer had also served as head of the previous defense housing agency.

The Division of Defense Housing Coordination was created to assure efficient, adequate, and speedy construction of homes in connection with the rearmament and military training programs, and it has powers in its own field comparable to those of the Office of Production Management in other fields. The Coordinator of Defense Housing is responsible only to the President and has authority over executive departments and independent agencies of the government engaged in housing activities "including corporations in which the United States owns all or a majority of the stock, either directly or indirectly."

NATIONAL LEAGUE

726 JACKSON PLACE



OF WOMEN VOTERS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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What Every Voter Should Know About Foreign Policy

#1109

A Quiz—Answer in 21 Words

Answer

1. Who is responsible for the negotiations of the United States with other countries?
2. Who approves treaties negotiated by the President?
3. What agency must provide funds for the carrying out of foreign policy?
4. What department of the federal government handles foreign affairs?
5. Who regulates foreign commerce?
6. Who has authority to direct the movements of the Navy?
7. Can the President send the Army into a foreign country?
8. Who "establishes" the size of the Army and the Navy?
9. What kind of a Navy is the United States planning?
10. Does the U. S. intend to help defend Canada?
11. Is the U. S. planning to help defend all the Latin-American republics?
12. Is the U. S. responsible for the military protection of the Philippine Islands?
13. What can a nation be termed which goes to war in violation of treaties?
14. Is the U. S. a member of the International Labor Organization?
15. Is the U. S. a member of the Pan American Union?
16. Does the League of Women Voters base its program on the premise that the U. S. can follow a policy of isolation?
17. Does the League of Women Voters advocate U. S. participation in the establishment of an effective peace system?
18. Does the League of Women Voters support the principles and methods of the Trade Agreements Program?
19. Does the League of Women Voters advocate aiding a victim of aggression?
20. Did the League of Women Voters support repeal of the arms embargo?
21. Has the League of Women Voters supported the "lease-lend" bill?

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

June 11, 1941

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SPOT ANNOUNCEMENTS FOR LOCAL RADIO STATIONS

L4
Fellow Americans! Do you want to help win our country's battle of production?

Then you must play your part in that battle.

Taxes will be higher. Pay them gladly. Work harder. Be willing to sacrifice.

The National League of Women Voters urges you to do everything to help. Do nothing to hinder. We'll win the battle of production.

* * * *

Fellow Americans! A battle is going on with time -- the battle of production.

As a nation we have not put all our power into action.

The conqueror has more planes, more ships, more munitions, more goods than we have.

We solemnly pledge ourselves that this shall not continue.

The National League of Women Voters urges you to work, pay, sacrifice -- to win the battle of production.

* * * *

Citizens of America! Our country must have more bombers, more ships, more tanks, more goods FASTER. This means more work, more taxes, more sacrifices for everyone.

The National League of Women Voters urges you to do everything to help. Do nothing to hinder our nation's program for defense at home and aid abroad. Help win America's battle of production.

* * * *

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

June 20, 1941

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.L4

SPECIAL JULY FOURTH ACTIVITIES
on
BATTLE OF PRODUCTION CAMPAIGN

Movie Screen Flashes for the Week of July 4 may be as simple or as elaborate as you wish. The suggested texts will be vastly enhanced by the addition of such "art" as the American flag, the Spirit of '76 trio, a miniature Declaration of Independence.

Attached to the Sample Press Release are suggestions for its use

Enter station wagons, floats, automobiles, etc., in the parade

Decorate appropriately in red, white, and blue

Have Campaign stickers on sides

Drape with banners bearing campaign slogan

Display special posters

If sound equipment available, have voice repeating "Help Win America's Battle of Production. The United States Battle of Production is part of the world war for freedom. Everything you do or say helps or hinders it. Unite to win the Battle of Production.; or "Are you an asset or liability to your country? Today's frontier is on the production line. Help win the Battle of Production."

Mass distribution of fliers (persons distributing them dressed as Uncle Sam or having ribbons with campaign slogan)

At the parade

At picnics

At the community fireworks display

From special booths on the parade route

At mass meetings

At the ball games: sandlot and professional

Have special street banners on the 4th's most traveled thoroughfare

Ask the speaker of the day to use the campaign theme for his text

WITH THE SPIRIT OF '76, WE'LL WIN THE BATTLE OF PRODUCTION

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.
July 9, 1941

H112

X- JK 1881

L4

BATTLE OF PRODUCTION
CAMPAIGN FLASHES

"We are 'making friends and influencing people.' It's a grand sensation," reports one state League president.

HOW AND WHERE:

In the sky: A Mexico, Missouri, League husband who flies his own plane will trail "Battle of Production" slogans across the sky.

At the movies: Clatsop County, Oregon, has a screen flash, with a sound track; the Illinois League has several slides in red, white, and blue, available to its local Leagues at cost; Grand Rapids and Saginaw, Michigan report slides still being used.

In the newspapers: A full page Battle of Production "ad", with an arresting drawing of Uncle Sam, in the Gleaners and Journal Sunday paper, sponsored by the Henderson, Kentucky, League and financed by sixteen local business firms, - not to mention the increasing number of editorials and countless news stories which tell of activity and more activity.

Via the ether waves: Seattle, Washington, and Portland, Oregon, will carry on the "battle" with a "Quiz of Two Cities" program, based on the campaign.

Louise Leonard Wright, national chairman of Government and Foreign Policy, will speak over the Columbia Broadcasting System on Tuesday, July 15, 6:15 to 6:30 Eastern Daylight Time. The Joplin, Missouri, League gives us a cue: for state radio broadcasts they have organized drug store listening-in parties.

At the July Fourth Parades: A pony cart with Sparrows Point (Maryland) children and Battle of Production slogans in Dundalk; station wagon with Prince George's and Montgomery County (Maryland) League of Women Voters and Battle of Production banners in Takoma Park.

At filling stations: Minneapolis, Minnesota, reports that Pure Oil and Standard Oil companies have taken 1,000 and 700 window stickers respectively saying "Help Win the Battle of Production" for distribution through filling stations throughout the northwest.

In store windows: Special displays and Battle of Production slogans painted on the windows featured in Mexico, Missouri.

With the morning's milk: Dodgers go out with milk bottles on Sunday morning, in Troy, New York, "when pa is home to see it."

At hotels: Enroute to League meeting at summer home--stopping at all resort hotels along the way leave dodgers (Green Bay, Wisconsin); having dodgers placed in mail boxes at hotels while conventions were in session (Denver, Colorado).

At the Farm Bureau: A member of Kansas' newest League, Sedgewick County, gave a thirty minute summary of the Campaign to 600 people, as part of the Farm Bureau program.

At a Labor Institute: The Mayor of Newark and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor in New Jersey used our "Battle of Production" point by point in his speech before the Labor Institute at Rutgers University.

No wonder, the Waterville, Maine, League writes, "...it's such a grand project to be in, that we couldn't resist!"

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

June 20, 1941

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SUGGESTED MOVIE SCREEN FLASHES FOR THE WEEK OF JULY 4

THE SPIRIT OF '76 LIVES ON

THE SPIRIT THAT GAVE US LIBERTY

CAN PRODUCE THE GOODS

TO KEEP US FREE

LET'S GO AMERICA!

WIN THE BATTLE OF PRODUCTION

_____ League of Women Voters

1776

JULY 4

1941

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS

Freedom is at stake

America will help defend it

by winning

THE BATTLE OF PRODUCTION

_____ League of Women Voters

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

May 12, 1941

Defense Plan of the
League of Women Voters

The Council of the League of Women Voters, made up of representatives from the 31 state Leagues, have been discussing for the past three days the contribution the League is particularly equipped to make today. The League of Women Voters recognizes the grave threat to democracy and to American security brought about by continued aggression. Because our form of government is being so seriously challenged, the League, which has worked for twenty-one years to make democratic processes effective, is now determined to put its understanding and experience to work in defense of that democracy.

The League of Women Voters will emphasize the following aspects of defense which are already items on its program.

1. Taxation and defense
2. Inter-American Cooperation
3. Living costs and defense
4. School facilities and housing in defense areas
5. Relief in relation to defense
6. Collective bargaining in relation to defense
7. Civil liberties in relation to defense

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

May 13, 1941

Win the Battle of Production Campaign

The Council of the League of Women Voters, made up of representatives from the 31 state Leagues, voted that the League should concentrate its efforts on an immediate campaign to arouse public demand for an all-out effort to "Win the Battle of Production."

In initiating the campaign the League is determined to make a success of the American policy so recently authorized by the Congress, promoted by the Executive and adopted by the people. The American people have inaugurated a plan for defending democracy by throwing its weight on the side of those who share with us common ideals of freedom and belief in the dignity of the individual. This plan can succeed only if the people recognize the emergency, and work and sacrifice with the unity of purpose hitherto characteristic of war. The League of Women Voters has faith in the American people and in their capacity to carry out the plan they have adopted. We trust our government to find a way to make our plan effective. We reject the slander that only through war can a people achieve a spirit of national unity.

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

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H116
June 6, 1941

17 a copy

Outline of Speech for Use in the Campaign
on the Battle of Production
(Series B)

Our way of life is threatened

- 1) By potential Nazi conquest of the world
 - a. German and Japanese plans for a new world order
- 2) By immediate Nazi threats to the Western Hemisphere
 - a. Nazi penetration in Latin America
(political and economic)
 - b. The narrowing Atlantic--Dakar, the Azores
- 3) Effect of a continuing gigantic armament program on our way of life

Our way of life is worth protecting

- 1) Examples from Freedom or Fascism
- 2) Positive statements of democracy as a way of life

What each can do today

- 1) "Win the Battle of Production"
- 2) Size of effort
- 3) Need for speed
- 4) What I can do

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#117

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

June 6, 1941

1 1/2 a copy

SUGGESTED PHRASES FOR USE IN CAMPAIGN

1. For Victory in the Battle of Production
2. Let's Work to Win
 Sacrifice to Win
 Pay to Win
 Talk to Win
 The Battle of Production
3. To Win the Battle of Production
 Let's adjourn
 Peace-time habits
 Peace-time taxation
 Peace-time progress
4. Pay - Work - Talk
 to Win the
 Battle of Production
5. More Goods for Defense: Fewer for Ourselves
 More National Income for our Government's Effort: Less for Ourselves
6. Production - America's Foreign Policy
 Enacted by the Congress
 Promoted by the Executive
 Approved by the People
 Let's Support It
7. Winning the Battle of Production Demands
 Devotion to the Free Way of Life
 Courage to Face the Dangers that Threaten Freedom
 Loyalty to the Government of the United States
 Faith in the American People
8. Winning the Battle of Production Demands
 Uniting for Victory
9. If It Hinders Defense, Don't Do It!
10. I Pledge My Support of America's Program of
 Production
 To Help Stop Fascist Conquest of the World
11. Forget Your Special Interest
 Remember the Threats to Freedom
 * * * *
 Win the Battle of Production

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

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. L4

April 14, 1941

#118

SOME RECENT REFERENCES ON LATIN AMERICA
AND PROBLEMS OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE
(Probably available in your libraries)

America in a World at War Series (Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., New York)

"The Monroe Doctrine Today," by Grayson Kirk. 10¢.
Excellent resume of the evolution of this historical policy.

Congressional Digest (2131 LeRoy Place, Washington, D. C.). 50¢

"Financial Aid to Latin America," December, 1940.

"Military Defense of the Americas" January, 1941.

"Should the American Republics Form a Permanent Union?"
February, 1941.

Foreign Affairs (Council of Foreign Relations, 45 East 65th St., New York City)

"Wings for the Trojan Horse" by M. Hall and W. Peck, January, 1941
German and Italian air lines in Latin America.

"What is the Western Hemisphere?" by V. Stefansson, January, 1941.
Special examination of status of Ireland and Greenland.

"The Myth of the Continents," by Eugene Staley, April, 1941.
Very important.

Harpers (49 East 33rd Street, New York City)

"Outpost No. 1: New Foundland," by Malcolm K. Clark.
February, 1941.

"Outpost No. 2: The West Indies" by Laurence and Sylvia Martin.
March, 1941.

Garland, J. V. War in the Americas (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1941)

Reference handbook: nature of conflict, organization of peace in the
Americas, problems of defense--economic and military.

Outline of Speech for Use in the Campaign
on the Battle of Production

(Series A)

- I. Use some item of today's news or some simple and impressive statement to act to set the stage and awaken a realization of danger.
- II. Sketch in a very few words the rapid spread of Fascism through war and its approach from many sides to us or to places whose control by Fascism would endanger us. Try to leave a picture of a United States encircled by enemies.
- III. Try to give a circumstantial, factual statement of the effect on us of being encircled by Fascist nations. Be specific. Use a very few examples. Make your audience feel and understand how the gradual encircling could endanger us. Don't rely on merely stating the fact.
- IV. Try to show what the individual reaction would be to the things that would happen in our country if we became a nation encircled by Fascists. Make your audience think of what this country would have to do in case it was encircled by and dominated by Fascist countries, e.g., if we had to prepare to defend ourselves as Germany prepared to conquer others, we would have to go on something of the same regime for many years that Germany did for seven years before she began to make war. Show how this could happen and then show how various types of individuals would be adversely affected by various kinds of restraint and deprivations such a regime would put upon them. Use your imagination and make it real.
- V. Speak of how rapidly this situation has developed and acknowledge how natural it is that there should be many people who have not yet caught up in their thinking, partly because the situation is so new and partly because it is so unwelcome. Give a little narrative to bring our history up to the Lease-Lend bill. Choose one of several possible approaches. One would be lessons of the last war and subsequent disillusion. Another would be the last war and an attempt to prevent another war by international cooperation and failure of that attempt. Another would be going back to the last war and showing how we were so afraid of entering another war that we gave up freedom of the seas in 1935 in the so-called Neutrality Act. Perhaps lead up to revision of the Neutrality Act, but in any case, arrive at the Lease-Lend bill, the enormous appropriations for defense at home and the draft for service.
- VI. Tell how the program of production, designed to help other nations stop the danger that is threatening us, needs as much public support as a war. Point out a few of the reasons why people have not united for that effort as they would for war.
- VII. Show what uniting means, how necessary it is--or in some other way come to the conclusion of your speech and an appeal for unity in a national emergency.

CITIZENSHIP:

ITS DUTIES AND ITS ALIBIS

By Ralph Barton Perry

SPEECH GIVEN AT
GENERAL COUNCIL, MAY 1941

Price 10c

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL
ON
UNITED STATES-JAPANESE RELATIONS

Contents

Summaries of U. S. proposals to Japan
contained in Memorandum of November 26,
1941, and of Japan's reply delivered
December 7, 1941

Message from the President to the Emperor
of Japan, December 6, 1941

Japan's war declaration against the United
States
U. S. declaration of a state of war with
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Calendar of events, January 1940-December 1941

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#122

THE BATTLE OF PRODUCTION

"... the battle of production which is now America's part in the latter-day struggle of slave versus free way. It can be won."

ROBERT DUNCANSON in *The Christian Science Monitor*

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INTRODUCTION

The following skeleton description of the defense program upon which the United States is embarked is designed both for individual reading and group discussion.

Upon a few features of the defense program the League of Women Voters has done active work; others have never been included in the League's program. Even among the latter there are questions that League members are better able to understand and judge because of what they have learned in the League of Women Voters.

The training in practical citizenship given by the League ought to mean that many thousands of women are prepared to be a steady and enlightened influence upon public opinion during these years of crisis. Public opinion as a factor in the Battle of Production is not mentioned in the following pages, though the place of the Executive, of the Congress, of labor and of capital, of the military services and the civilian services, all have been referred to. Yet it is public opinion and its effect upon all those factors that will determine the success or failure of an undertaking such as has never before been made and whose success demands sacrifices never before practiced except by people at war. A few facts necessary to an informed and intelligent public opinion will be found in the pages that follow.



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726 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.—August 1942

EXPLANATION OF ACTIVE LIST
for 1942-1944

"A war finance program based as far as possible on tax revenues, which takes into account control of inflation, fair distribution of the tax burden, and minimizing post-war dislocations."

No matter how heavy a war tax program the country manages to adopt, it will be necessary to borrow huge sums to finance the war. We should therefore try to follow a "pay as you go" policy as far as possible in order to minimize the post-war burden of debt.

Checking inflation by withdrawing surplus money income from circulation is another important objective of war finance. This can be done either by taxing away the money that would otherwise be spent on the diminishing supply of goods, or by a voluntary or compulsory bond buying program which would compel people to cut their expenditures.

The tax burden should, of course, be fairly distributed. This means that high income groups should forego a larger proportion of their incomes in taxes than low income groups, but it does not mean that low income groups can be spared heavy tax burdens. Normal standards of equity in taxation have to be weighed against the dangers of inflation, the most inequitable method of financing the war.

Paying for the war does not preclude thinking about post-war readjustments. Provision for a cushion of purchasing power to be available when needed after the war through a forced savings plan or other similar schemes is one suggested way of planning for the future now.

League Background: League experience in taxation prior to 1941 was chiefly in the state and local governments. Efforts to reach over-all League conclusions about tax policy which could be applied in the federal field were unsuccessful, although there was much interest and study. In 1941 interest in methods of financing defense preparations brought League interest into sharper focus. Guidance was given in the *Battle of Production* pamphlet during the spring and summer, in the tax quiz *Taxes: 1942 and After* in the fall, and in the broadside *Bigger Taxes Are Better Taxes* in the spring of 1942. All three of these publications had much wider distribution than most League study materials. Therefore by the time of the 1942 National Convention it was

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Fifteenth Convention
April 28-May 1, 1942

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#125

Fifteenth
Convention

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

APRIL 28—MAY 1, 1942
THE PALMER HOUSE
CHICAGO

OPA

Cheap at the Price

To enforce price ceilings, rent control, and rationing, the Office of Price Administration this year will spend about 90¢ for every person in this country. OPA asked Congress for about \$1.20 for each person, but Congress quibbled over this request and finally cut it. It failed to realize that if inflation, our domestic Public Enemy Number One, overran the country, it would cost each person hundreds of dollars a year in higher prices and shrinking dollars. It failed also to see the size of OPA's job which touches every individual in the country because it controls almost all the millions of products on the market.

Besides controlling prices and rents as directed by Congress, OPA has fallen heir to the rationing program. When Pearl Harbor cut off sources of supply of many raw materials, and after industry began concentrating its materials and manpower on war production, the War Production Board charged OPA with seeing that scarce goods available for civilian use were distributed as efficiently as possible.

General Max Takes Command

Before war was declared, no ceilings had been placed over the prices of retail goods. It had been hoped that the prices of finished products could be kept from rising by controlling the prices of the materials from which they were made. After December 7, however, rapidly expanding war production put into people's pockets more money to spend on the diminishing supply of civilian goods. Prices crept upwards. This spelled inflation. OPA therefore issued the General Maximum Price Regulation, sometimes referred to as General Max. This regulation directed that after May 18, no retailer could sell goods for a price higher than in March. There was one big exception to this order: farm products which Congress exempted from price ceilings until they should reach certain levels, one of which is 110% of parity.

General Max's right hand helper is rationing. Price ceilings determine only how much you shall pay, not how much you shall buy. If the long purse is to be kept from buying up all there is on the market, some way must be found to parcel out scarce goods so that they will go where they will help most toward winning the war and so that each person will get his fair share, regardless of income.

The Trees Obscure the Forest

Almost universal price ceilings and the rationing of such household goods as sugar make everyone in the country aware of OPA. Both programs are designed to protect people against the ravages of inflation. But at the same time, there is danger that people will

What's Ahead in Taxes?

In wartime the government's finance program has two aims:

- To control inflation by seeing to it that people do not have so much to spend.
- To raise enough revenue to carry on the war.

To achieve these aims, the government may either:

Tax

Incomes (individual and corporate), commodities (through sales tax or excise tax), spending, etc.

Borrow

Through *voluntary* buying of bonds by citizens, banks, insurance companies, etc.

Through *compulsory* buying of bonds, or through taxes that will be returned in one form or another after the war.

The problem is to get the best combination:

Taxation is the most effective way to reduce civilian spending *if the money can be collected at the source* before it reaches the individual's pocketbook, or if the tax is on spendings which may be an incentive to savings. When a person *feels poor* he is likely to spend less. Money raised by taxation leaves no public debt.

Borrowing, either compulsory or voluntary, is an easier program to push politically. It reaches normal savings quickly and seems less painful than taxation. But when a person, except one with very low earnings, lends money to the government by buying bonds, he is not so likely to reduce his spendings as he is to make his bonds a substitute for savings in other forms. Unlike taxation, borrowing increases the public debt.

The 1942 Revenue Act:

Does increase the revenue by \$6.5 to \$8 billion.

Does widen the tax base and increase the individual income tax rates. In 1940 there were 4 million federal taxpayers; in 1943 there will be about 27 million. The 1943 total will be nearer 46 million if the Victory Tax is included.

Does NOT go far enough toward carrying the war cost.

War expenditures for 1943 are estimated at.....	\$78 billion
Non-governmental expenditures are estimated at.....	+ 7 billion
Total.....	\$85 billion
Federal taxes will provide about.....	—25 billion
Balance to be borrowed unless additional revenue is raised.....	\$60 billion

Does NOT provide an adequate check on inflation.

It is estimated that there will be at least \$15 billion in excess purchasing power.

(over)

This Is Rationing

#128

To insure the efficient distribution at a reasonable price of goods made scarce by the war, something more than price ceilings is generally needed.

As shortages develop, people bid against each other for scarce goods, and prices sky-rocket.

If a price ceiling is set, it says merely how much you shall *pay*, not how much you shall *buy*.

If the long purse is to be kept from buying up all that is on the market, some way must be found to parcel out scarce goods so that each person may have his fair share, regardless of income. This is rationing.

Why Ration?

In total war, shortages develop in many lines because

sources of supply are cut off

plants making civilian goods are being converted to war production

manpower is moving into the armed forces or into war industry

War production must have first call on everything, and civilians must divide among themselves what is left over. Unless this is done in an orderly way, great inequalities will result.

The alternative to rationing is to deprive war production of needed materials so that civilian demand may be met, or to let civilians bid wildly against each other for the limited supply.

When to Ration?

We may expect rationing when

a limited supply, such as the available automobiles, must be allocated to users whose need is urgent from a public point of view

the supply of a universally used commodity, such as sugar, has been reduced below normal by the war

in times of inflation, it can check price increases and assure the fair distribution of living essentials so that they do not go beyond the reach of low-income groups. Nothing in this category has yet been rationed.

Who Rations?

The Office of Price Administration has been given full power by the War Production Board to ration all goods and commodities to meet civilian personal needs. This power was given the President by Congress in June 1940, and he has delegated it successively

[OVER]

Brakes on Inflation

#129

THE COST OF LIVING in February 1942 was 14.2% higher than in 1939 when war broke out in Europe. Of this increase, about 80% has come within the last year.

THIS MEANS THAT TODAY you are probably spending about \$1.15 for every dollar you spent prior to the outbreak of war.

THE REASON FOR THIS IS SCARCITY created by unusual wartime demands. There is not material and productive capacity enough to make goods both for the nation's war needs and for unlimited purchase by individuals. As war production has increased, goods for purchase by the people have had to be curtailed. At the same time workers with increased money incomes as a result of government wartime spending, have had added purchasing power with which to bid up the prices of goods used in living.

THE DEMAND FOR GOODS WILL INCREASE STILL MORE as war production expands and increased government buying puts into the people's pockets more money to spend. At the same time the supply of some materials is being cut off as the war spreads and shipping becomes more hazardous.

It is estimated that during the coming year, the purchasing power in the country will exceed the supply of goods by \$11 to \$15 billion.

IF the people use this new purchasing power to bid against one another and against the government, prices will go up more—perhaps much more.

IF this happens, everyone's dollar will buy less. Hurt most will be white collar workers, small business men, small investors, and those living on savings. Wage earners are in a position to ask for increased pay as prices rise, but if they do, they may find they are no better off because higher wages provide more money to compete for the decreasing supply of goods. There will be additional upward pressure on prices which may increase faster than wages. When purchasing power increases faster than the supply of goods, this is inflation.

Inflation Is Dangerous

It hinders war production by encouraging speculative hoarding of essential materials in the hope that prices will rise more, and by providing a fertile ground for labor disputes as workers ask for pay increases to meet the higher cost of living.

It leads to lack of unity among groups in the country as wage earners, salaried persons, farmers, civil servants and the like each try to put themselves into a better position as prices rise, often at the expense of the other groups.

It increases the cost of the war because dollars won't buy as much. Taxes, already burdensome, will become more so. The Office of Price Administration has estimated that, so far, inflation has cost the government \$2½ billion out of the \$18 billion spent for war between August 1939 and the end of 1941. It is further estimated that if we have a "runaway" inflation, the war cost may be increased as much as \$50 billion by the end of 1943.

It will make the United States weak after the war. The deflation which will set in when the government stops buying war materials will be more severe, prices will fall fast, people will be thrown out of work, and the United States will be so concerned with its domestic reconstruction that it will not be in a position to give world leadership.

But Inflation Can Be Controlled

When the money people spend increases, one way to keep prices from rising is to increase the supply of goods for them to buy. But now that we are at war, the supply of goods cannot be increased to meet the people's expanding purchasing power.

Washington: Our National Home Town

Washington is the nerve center of the cause of democratic government.

Are its affairs managed as well as they should be? No.

Does it set a good example for other cities? No.

Washington is not a badly run city. In many respects it is an average American city in spite of boom town conditions and attendant problems. In some respects Washington is unusually fortunate: It has no bonded debt. Taxes are moderate. There are few industrial problems such as labor relations, smoke, how to get and keep industries. It does not have to worry about conflicts with a state government. But Washington's system of government is slow, indirect and irresponsible.

No citizen of the District votes for anyone

Washington is governed by Congress and by appointees of the President. Under the Constitution, Congress has responsibility for the District and should have, since the national interest must be paramount in the Nation's Capital, but Congress may delegate some of its authority to local officials if it sees fit.

Congress is ill-suited to act as a city council

Congressmen haven't time, many aren't interested, few are experienced in city government. Irrelevant considerations creep in when a national body acts on local questions.

The procedure of federal legislation is too cumbersome and slow for local affairs, and too time-consuming for Congress and the President. All legislation proposed for the District—175 or more bills a year—must go through the District Commissioners' office, the federal Bureau of the Budget, the District Committee in each House of Congress; must be considered by both Houses; and must then go to the President. All of this whether the object is to change a street name or the District tax system! When an appropriation is necessary in addition, the same procedure must be gone through a second time substituting the appropriations committees for the District committees.

Elsewhere city councils with two houses like the Congress and with many committees went out during the nineties. Most cities have undergone several eras of progress since then. But the government of metropolitan Washington has not been changed since 1878, and in 1942 the city still struggles to operate under a system of government that is infinitely more complicated than old-fashioned city government.

The Commissioners cannot be held to account by D. C. citizens

The three District Commissioners who are responsible for administration in the city of Washington are appointed by the President and are dependent on Congress for money.
(OVER)

#131

The Next Congress

Most Important in U. S. History

The future of the United States will be committed to the Congress the people choose November 3, 1942.

A law-making body chosen by the people is indispensable to democratic government. If a law-making body loses the confidence of the people, the people turn to dictatorship. By choosing a Congress qualified to meet the test of this time, the American people will ensure that the danger of dictatorship does not threaten this country.

Congress Will Decide:

How much power the President shall have.

Much of the legislation granting powers to the President has a time limit that ends during the term of the next Congress. It will decide the question of extending these powers. Congress has also retained the right to terminate these powers without reference to the President. New problems will arise requiring legislative authority for their solution.

Whether adequate controls over inflation are developed and kept.

Both the Executive and the Congress have been slow to take steps needed to prevent a runaway inflation. The Executive has been slow to fix wage controls or to advocate drastic taxes; the Congress delayed passage of the original price control law, insisted on special protection to farm products, and balked at the modest tax proposals of the Treasury. Even if adequate controls are set, there may be a tendency to loosen them too quickly at the close of the war. The Price Control Act, for instance, expires on June 30, 1944.

Who shall pay for the war, when.

The problem of financing the war cannot be solved once for all time. Regardless of tax action by the current Congress, the next one will have to struggle with this problem. To tax heavily enough to aid in controlling inflation requires courage and a keen sense of public responsibility.

How much shall be spent on non-war activities.

As total war develops, it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish between war and non-war expenditures. Women are needed in factories; therefore government may have to extend child welfare services. Workers are not efficient without decent living conditions; the government provides housing. Skilled workers are taken into the armed forces; the government trains new ones. Determining those services necessary to the war effort and those that can be cut or eliminated requires discriminating judgment.

Who will serve, where.

The labor shortage has grown so serious that legislation authorizing the placing of men and women in jobs where they are most needed, either in industry or agriculture, may be enacted before this Congress expires, but further action by the next Congress may be required. Amendments to the Selective Service Act to lower the age of selectees and to clarify the reasons for exemptions, are also in prospect.

(OVER)

Next Year's Taxes #132

Will They Be Adequate?

It's up to the Senate

What's Wrong with the \$6.2 Billion House Bill?

It falls short of the \$8.7 billion Treasury program in almost every respect and the Treasury proposals should have been considered a minimum, not a maximum. Even if the Treasury total were reached, it would be necessary to borrow close to \$50 billion during the next twelve months.

The House not only failed to write a big enough tax bill, but it also rejected all of the recommendations designed to close loopholes: requirement of mandatory joint income tax returns by husband and wife, taxation of the interest on state and local bonds, and removal of certain privileges now granted to the owners of mining and oil producing properties. These provisions would bring in several hundred million dollars.

But probably the most serious defect of both the House bill and the Treasury program lies in the personal income tax provisions. Neither set of proposals recognizes the need for putting a brake on inflation by taxing away a large part of the money people have in excess of what can be spent on the diminishing supply of goods and other services. Under the Treasury program a married man with two children and a \$2500 income would be taxed \$118 or about 5% of his income, under the House bill \$80 or only about 3%. In England where strenuous steps have been taken to drain off excess buying power through taxes, a person in such circumstances would pay \$387 or about 15% of his income plus \$143 that will be refunded after the war. And in Canada the comparable tax will probably be \$217 next year plus \$218 to be refunded, although the latter payment will be smaller if the person is making insurance or mortgage or retirement payments.

Is Heavy Taxation Cheaper than Inflation?

Yes. If we do not tax on a very much heavier scale, people will bid against each other for the limited supply of goods, and the prices of essentials—food, clothing, rent—will go up in spite of price controls. The dollar will buy less and people will find that it takes most of their income to supply the basic needs of living and there will be less and less left over for such items as medical service, savings, education, recreation.

But isn't this just what heavier taxes will do—limit spending money to essentials like food, clothing and rent? It is worse, because taxation is more certain in its effects—people can plan how to adjust themselves since they will have some warning of how much money will be taken in taxes and how much they will have left to spend, and taxation can be fairer to all groups of people. Inflation is hard on people with fixed incomes—salaries or pensions—as against those

Forced Savings

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Should the Purchase of War Bonds Be Compulsory?

The American people have bought \$5 billion of war bonds in the past year. The Treasury Department has started a campaign to get people to pledge at least \$12 billion in the coming year. First responses to this drive have been good. Even so, there has been talk of starting a "forced savings" policy, that is, making it compulsory for almost everyone to buy bonds.

This would mean that instead of being requested to set aside 10% of our incomes for bonds, as the Treasury is now doing, we might be required to make payments to the government in this amount or more, which the government would promise to return after the war is over, with or perhaps without interest.

Also, there might be differences in the size of payments different people were required to make. A family with a \$5,000 income might be required to pay more than a family with a \$1,000 income, or a family with one child more than a family with five.

Where Tried?

A year ago when the English increased their taxes and required more people to pay income taxes, it was decided that this new group of taxpayers should receive a credit for their payments and be repaid after the war. In other words, this group is not really paying taxes, but buying the equivalent of bonds.

Why Consider?

It is one way of forcing people to cut their expenditures. This can also be done through taxation. And it might be done through a voluntary system of buying bonds if there were pressure enough, or people were patriotic enough to *increase* the amount of their savings in order to buy bonds, or if, as a result of rationing, people found that there was nothing else to do with their money.

The reason for forcing people to cut expenditures is the familiar one of checking inflation by closing the gap between the large amount of money available for spending and the limited supply of goods on which it can be spent. In order to accomplish this purpose, everyone, including many people who have been unemployed until recently and many who are earning decent wages for the first time in many years, must sacrifice some of their income, at least for

Manpower—A Bird's Eye View

There is no manpower shortage in the United States now. There still are enough men and women to fight the war at the front, in the factory, and on the farm.

The trouble is that we are not using our manpower supply efficiently. We have not worked out an orderly system for seeing that each man and woman is in the job where he can help most toward winning the war.

We have allowed employers to bid against each other and to use the promise of higher pay to lure workers from jobs in which they are needed.

We have allowed workers to move at will from job to job in search of higher pay.

We have allowed the Army to draft workers whose skills are needed in the factory and on the farm, and we have let workers whose skills are needed in other places enlist voluntarily.

The size of the country's armed forces determines how many men and women must work behind the lines growing food and making guns, tanks, planes and ships.

The Secretary of War has announced that 7½ million men will be in the Army by the end of 1943. Some 2 million may be in the Navy and other services. The country's labor force is estimated at 54 million workers, with a reserve of 30 million potentially available for work—27 million of whom are women. On the home front the best possible use must be made of every worker, including women, Negroes, youths, older workers, handicapped and minority groups.

Every worker must work at the job he can do best.

Some employers must be restricted as to the labor they may hire and some workers restricted as to the jobs they may take.

Workers may have to be moved to the places where they are most needed.

Wages must be adjusted to attract workers to war jobs but must not be allowed to sky-rocket thereby causing inflation.

Production of civilian goods must be curtailed so that workers may change to war jobs.

Why Is Mobilization Needed?

Attempts have been made to stop wasteful labor practices and some have helped. But the problem has not been solved because:

Each situation is tackled separately and no over-all pattern has been worked out for routing manpower where it is most needed.

The War Manpower Commission, which is charged with making the best use of the nation's manpower supply, has no power to take direct action. Its chairman may only issue directives to other agencies to carry out policies. He has no power to enforce these policies except as these other agencies use such powers as they may have.

There is no single agency to determine whether a man is more useful in the Army, the Navy, in war industry or on the farm. This decision now rests with the local volunteer Selective Service Boards which, because they draft men for the Army, have first call on manpower. The U. S. Employment Service and other agencies which know the needs of the factories and farms only *advise* draft boards on individuals whose skills are needed on the home front.

(over)

WHY BUY WAR BONDS?

To Help Pay for the War and to Help Prevent Inflation

The government is going to need billions of dollars to pay for the war. This money must come from the people.

Today most people have more money than they have had for a long time because there are more jobs, and wages, profits and dividends are higher. With this money they can either

"buy as usual" and buy things they have never had before

or

lend to the government to help pay for the war

This choice isn't only for those who today are making more money. It is a choice which everyone must make because the amount of goods to be bought is limited since more of everything is needed by the government to fight the war. *There are not enough goods both for war needs and for the people to buy as usual.*

When there is more money to spend and at the same time less to buy, prices will rise if people spend freely thus bidding against each other and against the government. Then it will take more money to buy things; then workers will ask for higher wages. Again there will be more money to buy goods and prices will rise again. **THIS IS INFLATION!**

Inflation is disastrous because:

it makes your money buy less, so that savings, insurance policies, annuities, and pensions are worth less, the cost of living rises, and the war costs more because the government must pay more for war materials.

the higher prices are during the war, the lower they will fall after the war, because when the government stops buying war materials, people are thrown out of work and do not have the money to buy the things suddenly available. Prices then fall fast. **THIS IS DEFLATION!**

But if money is lent to the government to help pay for the war, inflation and later deflation may be prevented.

The government cannot get by taxation all the money it needs to fight the war because:

the amount of money needed is unknown, and it is impossible to frame in a hurry a tax plan which will take money from those who can give it.

the money is needed *immediately* and the government cannot wait until taxes come in to buy war materials.

The government has the power to issue money, and it could pay for the war by coining more money, but this is BAD because:

it would mean that there would be much more money in the country with which to buy the same amount of goods; therefore prices would rise.

it would mean that the citizens would be competing against the government more and more for the goods which the government needs in order to fight the war; therefore prices would rise.

The government can pay for the war by borrowing from the people and this is GOOD because:

the people won't have as much money left to buy the goods which the government needs to fight the war; therefore prices will not skyrocket.

when prices stay in line, the money you have will buy more.

you will get back from the government later your original loan with interest.

with the money saved in this way you will be able to buy goods when the war is over and thus help cushion the slump at the end of the war.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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WHY BUY DEFENSE BONDS?

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The government has the power to issue money, and it could pay for the war by coining more money, but this is BAD because:

it would mean that there would be much more money in the country with which to buy the same amount of goods; therefore prices would rise.

it would mean that the citizens would be competing against the government more and more for the goods which the government needs in order to fight the war; therefore prices would rise.

The government can pay for the war by borrowing from the people and this is GOOD because:

the people won't have as much money left to buy the goods which the government needs to fight the war; therefore prices will not skyrocket.

when prices stay in line, the money you have will buy more.

you will get back from the government later your original loan with interest.

with the money saved in this way you will be able to buy goods when the war is over and thus help cushion the slump at the end of the war.

NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

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January 1942

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#137

Civil Defense

Progress

"Spotty" progress, the middle west lagging four or five months behind coast areas, the better organized areas not as good as they should be, is the latest over-all report on **CIVILIAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION**.

OCD is moving ahead in efforts to speed up local civil protection preparations for air raids or other disaster.

Training schools are being established in all parts of the country to teach air raid warden instructors. There are now five—one each in Maryland, Massachusetts, Florida, Texas and California. There will be more.

Distribution of the \$100 million of equipment authorized by Congress has begun. Deliveries have started on helmets and arm bands for communities in target areas. Stirrup pumps are expected shortly. Contracts for fire fighting equipment are being placed. Medical supplies have been ordered, although army deliveries have precedence. Money has been allocated to the War Department for development of gas mask production facilities.

Regional OCD officers are helping with the organization of defense councils, Citizens' Defense Corps, and control centers. There are at present 8,459 local defense councils in 48 states.

Inspection of local preparations for civilian protection has begun. There will be more of this shortly.

Latest report on the other aspect of civilian defense—the much misunderstood and confused question of voluntary participation, **COMMUNITY MOBILIZATION** and civilian morale—is progress in clarifying scope and methods.

OCD has withdrawn from all activity relating to the preparation of programs to solve community problems created or accentuated by the war: health, welfare, housing, recreation, salvage, war bonds, rationing administration, etc. This is now done entirely by the federal agency concerned—Federal Security Agency, WPB, Treasury Department, OPA, and others.

OCD is continuing, however, to help organize volunteer bureaus for the placement of workers on programs the community decides to undertake. These bureaus now number more than 2,000.

OCD has announced that in promoting local organization for community mobilization it will encourage only such programs as will "help win the war." Two examples of this: Victory gardens will not be encouraged unless they can be organized on a sufficiently large scale to produce a worthwhile amount of food; they are not encouraged just to make individuals feel they are making a contribution to the war program regardless of the products of the garden. Day nurseries will be encouraged where they facilitate the employment of mothers in war work, but not for other reasons which might be justified in peace but not in war.

Wanted:

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#138

Clear-Cut War Labor Policies

WHY? Because voluntary agreements between labor and management have not succeeded in stabilizing wages and determining union status during the war.

If wages are not stabilized, labor might not be employed where it is most needed to win the war. Employers may offer high wages to lure workers from other war plants or to keep workers in their own. Rising wages can also bring on a runaway inflation. Even though ceilings have been placed over the prices of most retail goods, increased buying power resulting from higher wages could force prices through their ceilings.

If the position of unions as representatives of labor is not clear-cut, bickering between labor and management is likely to delay production. Unions fear that with the influx of non-union workers into a plant where wages are stabilized, the unions themselves will lose their position as bargaining agents leaving labor helpless after the war. This is why there is so much controversy about closed shop contracts, union shop contracts, and maintenance of membership. These are among the methods used to assure the bargaining strength of the organizations, referred to as "union security." "Maintenance of membership" is a new term. It means that an employee who is a member when the union makes a contract with an employer, or who becomes a member later, must remain so during the term of the contract.

INDIVIDUAL AGREEMENTS VS. OVER-ALL POLICIES

Voluntary labor-management agreements, sometimes reached with government help, have been relied upon so far to fix wages and determine union status.

In most cases, agreements are reached without disputes through orderly collective bargaining machinery; where disagreements arise, state mediation agencies or the United States Conciliation Service may help. Stubborn disputes involving war industries reach the National War Labor Board.

So far, the War Labor Board in making its recommendations, has been guided entirely by the situation existing in the industry concerned and has announced that it does not wish to adopt any one policy to be followed consistently, especially in union security cases. President Roosevelt, after his anti-inflation message to Congress, requested the Board not to recommend wage increases which would have an inflationary effect, and this will now become a guiding policy and a partial step toward stabilizing wages. The Board seems to be evolving a union security policy in its "maintenance of membership" recommendations.

"Stabilization agreements" between labor and management for an entire industry are being encouraged by the War Production Board. Among other things, these fix wages and provide machinery for adjusting wages to rising living costs. The question of union security has not been covered in the two agreements reached so far, in the shipbuilding and building trades industries.

Two Fronts: War and Post-War

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#139

Hitler's propaganda agency swings more feverishly into action each time any of the United Nations reach an agreement on what they want now and when the war is over. If the Axis can divide, it can win—but it fears the power of united peoples.

The recent lend-lease agreement between the United States and Great Britain strengthens such unity. The two countries agreed on principles applying to (1) mutual aid in prosecuting the war, and (2) a settlement of lend-lease obligations which would rule out a repetition of the war debt quarrels that confused the last reconstruction period. This time more goods, more work, and a freer flow of trade among nations will be the yardsticks used in determining the final settlement. The agreement is a framework; detailed plans will be worked out later. Terms of settlement will not be decided finally until it is known how much aid is necessary and "the progress of events quarrels clearer" what kind of arrangements will be to the best interests of both countries and will promote world peace. But preliminary negotiations are under way.

Does Congress have to approve the agreement?

No, because it was made by the President under authority of the Lend-Lease Act. But Congress may have to approve some of the agreements that will follow.

What additional agreements can be expected?

Agreements to lower tariffs and to do away with trade policies that penalize some countries and favor others.

Agreements to further other aims of the Atlantic Charter, such as equal access to raw materials, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security.

How will the agreements affect other countries?

Any countries can take part that approve the principles. Presumably they would be expected to pursue like policies.

No Turning Back

The United States has taken on responsibilities that will last longer than the war unless repudiated because of the influence of special interest groups and public reaction to the strain of war. Common goals have been expressed by the United Nations. Their material and economic resources have been pooled to further the joint war effort. The United States has already:

- Announced the Atlantic Charter with Great Britain, as an official expression of peace aims.

- Signed the Twenty-six Nation Agreement pledging to keep faith in the fight against the Axis.

- Pledged special aid to Russia and China

- Signed far-reaching agreements with Latin American nations to further military and economic defense

- Pooled its resources with those of Great Britain

- Coordinated wartime production with Canada

These common goals can be achieved only if there is active public support of them.

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March 27, 1942

Dear Publicity Chairman:

Your board soon will be making plans to use the packet of Congressional election material sent to state League presidents this week by National headquarters. Between now and November, before primaries and before the election, the League is urging its members to do their utmost to make the public aware of the importance of Congress and of sending the best possible men and women to it.

Enclosed is a copy of a nation-wide press release. And here are some suggestions for following it up if your board plans to join in the publicity campaign:

Ask local publicity chairmen to call upon their newspaper editors well in advance of the primary with copies of the roll call sheets and the League's explanation of their meaning. Suggest that they ask the editors to print this record of those Congressmen who are seeking re-election, as a service to the voters of the district. Credit should be given to the National League of Women Voters. At the same time the local chairmen can explain the League's campaign (see Foreword to the roll calls), and suggest editorials.

Every member who has enlisted in the League's Wartime Service can be asked to write a letter to the editor, as well as talk to others about the importance of electing capable Congressmen.

If your board prepares the suggested flier, "Your Vote and the Future," contained in the packet sent to state presidents, or something similar, newspapers can be asked to reprint it.

League meetings between now and November can be used as "takeoffs" for statements from League officers on the kind of Congress we need.

Try to interest columnists.

Next month you may expect a news story on a poll to be conducted by the Member's Magazine. And later a radio script.

The press should meet us more than half way. A few editorial writers and columnists already have begun to think and write in this vein.

And now success to you, and the League, and all the candidates who deserve it.

Sincerely yours,

Encl. release

Mrs. Virginia M. Mannon
Publicity Secretary

P. S. IMPORTANT!

To assure news at home of the National League convention April 28 to May 1 in Chicago, will you ask your local publicity chairmen to urge their newspaper editors to arrange for wire service coverage?

National League of Women Voters
726 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

.L4

April 1942
Price: 1¢

#1142

Suggestions for Wartime Service Unit Directors
in Stimulating Distribution of "Brakes on Inflation"

The subject of inflation is tremendously complicated. Because it is so complicated people are likely either to give up and say there is nothing they can do; or grasp one aspect of the problem and think the solution to this problem is the one way to handle the situation. The broadside is an attempt to state briefly the various problems involved. A few warnings that might pique interest in the broadside are:

Don't think there is any one simple solution. Never before has such a direct attempt been made to prevent inflation. There are few precedents, so we must expect many methods to be proposed or tried.

Don't think the job is done if prices are frozen.

Don't think the job is done because the pressure to buy war bonds is increased.

Don't think wage rates are the only factor in the increased amount of purchasing power that comes from the war effort.

Don't think that excess profits are the sole cause.

Don't think people understand about inflation because there has been a lot of talk about it.

Don't think that because individuals may for the moment seem to benefit from an increased income, inflation isn't bad for everybody.

Almost everyone will have to make some sacrifice if inflation is to be controlled, but it may not be controlled if each group expects to escape sacrifices and opposes proposals on that ground. Because of such pressures there may be delay and spottiness in the program which may be disastrous.

Controls, such as price fixing and rationing, may be ineffective if people don't understand the need and if they try to beat the game through bootlegging of goods, or bidding up prices in spite of the ceilings.

Each person can understand the scope of the problem, even if he can't know all of the solutions.

If great numbers of people know as much about inflation and how it may be controlled as they can learn from the broadside, effective action by the President and Congress may be taken.

/ National League of Women Voters
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April 1942
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1143

MAKE YOUR CONGRESSMAN

Announcer: We are in the town of Merriville, a typical American community in the spring of 1942. Mrs. Frank Barton and Mrs. Timothy March have just attended a meeting sponsored by the League of Women Voters. At this meeting, Dave Randall, editor of the Merriville Morning Times, has spoken on the subject of Make Your Congressman. With the speech still fresh in their thoughts, Mrs. Barton, whose husband is president of the bank, and Mrs. March (Peg to her friends), whose husband teaches history in high school, have dropped into the corner drug store for a cup of coffee. Both are members of the Merriville League of Women Voters.

Peg: I thought the turnout was very good tonight. . .

Mrs. Barton: Practically all of our leading citizens were there! It's just too bad that my husband couldn't have attended. . . .

Peg: I was so glad to see several factory workers there. . . and the Johnsons and the Klines. . . why, they had to drive a long way to come from their farms. . .

Mrs. Barton: Well, of course, Dave Randall is one of the outstanding men of the town. . . and the state, too, for that matter. As editor. . .

Peg: But they were really interested in what he was saying!

"Make Your Congressman" is a provocative title. And I think he started people to thinking. Anyway, he gave me some ideas. How I wish that Tim hadn't had to correct a batch of quizz papers! He would have agreed so thoroughly with Mr. Randall.

Mrs. Barton: Well, I must say I can't go along on everything he said. But of course we should take an interest in the coming election!

Peg: Of course we should! and what is more, we should do something about electing good Congressmen! All the representatives and a third of the Senators come up for election this fall. And think of all the problems this next session will have to

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National League of Women Voters
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Chicago Convention, 1942.

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April 1942

#144

CHINA TOO IS FIGHTING A WAR TO PRESERVE A WAY OF LIFE

Hu Shih

I.

You know what you are fighting for. You are fighting for the preservation of your democratic way of life which, as I understand it, is the way of freedom and peace.

The issue at stake, as far as the western world and the western civilization are concerned, is, therefore, despotism vs. democracy: it is freedom vs. oppression and peace vs. the lust for conquest by brute force.

Now, the issue at stake in the Pacific is exactly the same issue which faces you in the western world. It is the issue of the totalitarian way of life vs. the democratic way of life: it is freedom and peace vs. oppression and aggression.

Just as in the West the issue is focused on a conflict between Nazi Germany and the Western European and the Anglo-Saxon democracies, so is the issue in the Pacific best symbolized by the conflict between Japan and China.

The conflict between China and Japan is basically a conflict between the way of freedom and peace and the way of despotic oppression and militaristic and imperialistic aggression.

The best way to understand this basic conflict in the Pacific is to remember these plain historical facts in contrast:

- (1) China discarded feudalism when she became a unified empire 21 centuries ago, whereas Japan was still at the height of a fully developed militaristic feudalism when Commodore Perry knocked on her doors in the middle of the 19th century.
- (2) China for 21 centuries has developed an almost classless

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April 1942

1145

WHAT BRITAIN IS FIGHTING FOR

By Richard Tawney

I am honored by the invitation to address you, but I do so with some diffidence. I remember once hearing a wise man remark that foreign travel is supposed to broaden the mind, but that in reality it only elongates the conversation. There are other activities besides those of the tourist to which that admonition is relevant, and I am conscious that discourses upon the issues of the present conflict hold a not inconspicuous place among them. Nor is my embarrassment diminished after listening to the speech of one whom I revered as a sage before I learned to admire him as a master, not only of speculative thought, but of practical wisdom, His Excellency, The Ambassador of the Chinese Republic. When the history of our generation comes to be written, it will record that it was China who held the fort for civilization, and held it alone when other nations with not less to lose, and ampler means to protect it, were to some extent so nolent and too selfish to man the defenses. We in England are proud to be associated with her, with the United States and with Russia in the common cause of justice and freedom. And I can wish nothing better both for us and our allies that we should bring to that task a courage, a tenacity and, not least, a humanity resembling that of the great people whose spokesman we have just heard.

I have been asked to say something about the attitude of the British people to the war. I am not an enthusiast for patriotic rhetoric, and on that topic I shall not dwell at length. Every nation has its own special sense of sensibilities, its traditional pieties and peculiar sanctities, its chords of collective idealism which vibrate when touched. My unpleasant fellow country-men have, I believe, a reputation for frigid and stony-hearted impassiveness, but there are situations, nevertheless, to which they react almost like human beings. The present struggle is one of them. Emotional depths, long quiescent have been stirred. The dykes are down and the waters

"CHICAGO TO CHICAGO" - Legislative Review

Given by LOUISE G. BALDWIN, First Vice President
in charge of Legislation

at the

Biennial Convention, National League of Women Voters
Chicago, April 29, 1942

When I started dolving into the legislative files of the League of Women Voters I expected to capture much of the excitement of those early legislative campaigns and to experience anew some of the pleasures and disappointments of more recent ones that are familiar to me. Those prosaic looking files created unexpectedly vivid pictures, but more, they highlighted certain characteristics of the League.

The practical nature of the League showed up at every turn - - its ability to work toward objectives step by step instead of defeating its purpose by asking the impossible. The League -- depending for effectiveness upon its ability to convince legislators its position was the right one, rather than upon any special inducements -- demonstrated that lobbying could be respectable. Throughout those twenty-two years there was never a hint of the League representing anything but the public interest; it has never "been taken into camp" by any special interest group. Perhaps most interesting point of all is that the League's present program has its roots in the 1920 one.

M. and I., child labor, Musculo Shoals, Food and Drug legislation, merit system, World Court, opposition to Garrett-Wadsworth Amendment, relief, social security, the three bureaus, Disarmament Conference, London Naval Treaty, Lame Duck Amendment, Reciprocal Trade Agreements, National Munitions Control Board, Lend-Lease, Repeal of Neutrality Act. As I mention these, memories will be awakened in all of you of work that has gone on in your own communities and exciting experiences that have taught you a lot about the whole field of government. There is only time, here, for a quick view of a few of these campaigns. I have chosen four fields to present--child welfare, including M. and I., the child labor amendment and federal child labor legislation; Musculo Shoals; Merit System; and foreign policy.

"M. and I."

In Chicago in 1920 the brand new League of Women Voters jumped into the midst of a campaign when it endorsed the seemingly uncontroversial bill, "The Sheppard-Towner bill for the public protection of maternity and infancy." It seemed to us a simple plan to hit at an obvious social problem--the disgraceful death toll of mothers and babies, but immediately there arose a storm of protest. The new organization found itself assailed from all sides. This bill was "federal mid-wifery" said the opponents. Official meddling between mother and baby meant the abolition of the family. It was paternalism, communism, socialism, and all the other isms condemned into one. The opponents used tactics that are now familiar--trying to defeat the bill by smearing individuals connected with it, calling them subversive. Many of you will remember the gallant Florence Kelly of the National Consumers League who worked side by side with the first president of the League, Maud Wood Park. It was charged that the funds for the campaign came to Mrs. Kelly directly from Russia and the Third Internationale. All of the political acumen gained by the suffrage leaders was needed to win this campaign-----

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Press Department
National League of Women Voters
Palmer House,
Chicago, Ill.

. L4

For Release A. M. April 29, 1942.

"Responsible Citizenship Makes Responsive Government"

Address by Bernard De Voto at 9:00 P. M. April 28, 1942,

to the biennial convention of the National League of Women Voters.

I take no shame in admitting that what I have to say to the League of Women Voters consists entirely of platitudes. A platitude is a common experience worn so bright that neither reluctance nor distaste will permit one to ignore it. And, since the national consciousness is only the sum of individual experiences, I do not hesitate to ask your forbearance for working into what I have to say to you by recounting a private experience of my own.

One of the wartime obligations I have accepted is to learn as much as I can about the enemy propaganda beamed to the western hemisphere and particularly to the United States by short wave radio. For a long time I have studied the reports on it issued by better qualified students and have devoted as many hours as I could snatch from other duties to listening to it on the air. The task requires a strong stomach and a resolution not to be appalled or frightened by the cynicism, the ingenuity, and the strength of the poison constantly directed at us. Before this war, those who used the lie as a weapon had the grace to pretend that the lie was true, but the swagger of the Nazi mind openly boasts that it is not concerned with the truth of anything but only with its effectiveness.

The Nazi corps of psychological warfare does not, however, refuse to use any serviceable idea on the mere ground that it is true. Something over a month ago the office of Mr. Leon Henderson announced that the production of safety razor blades would have to be limited to an average of one blade per user per week. It was a hasty announcement for presently the fact transpired that one blade per user per week was the average production, anyway. Acquainted with the methods of Nazi propaganda, I expected to see the razor blade turn up on the short wave